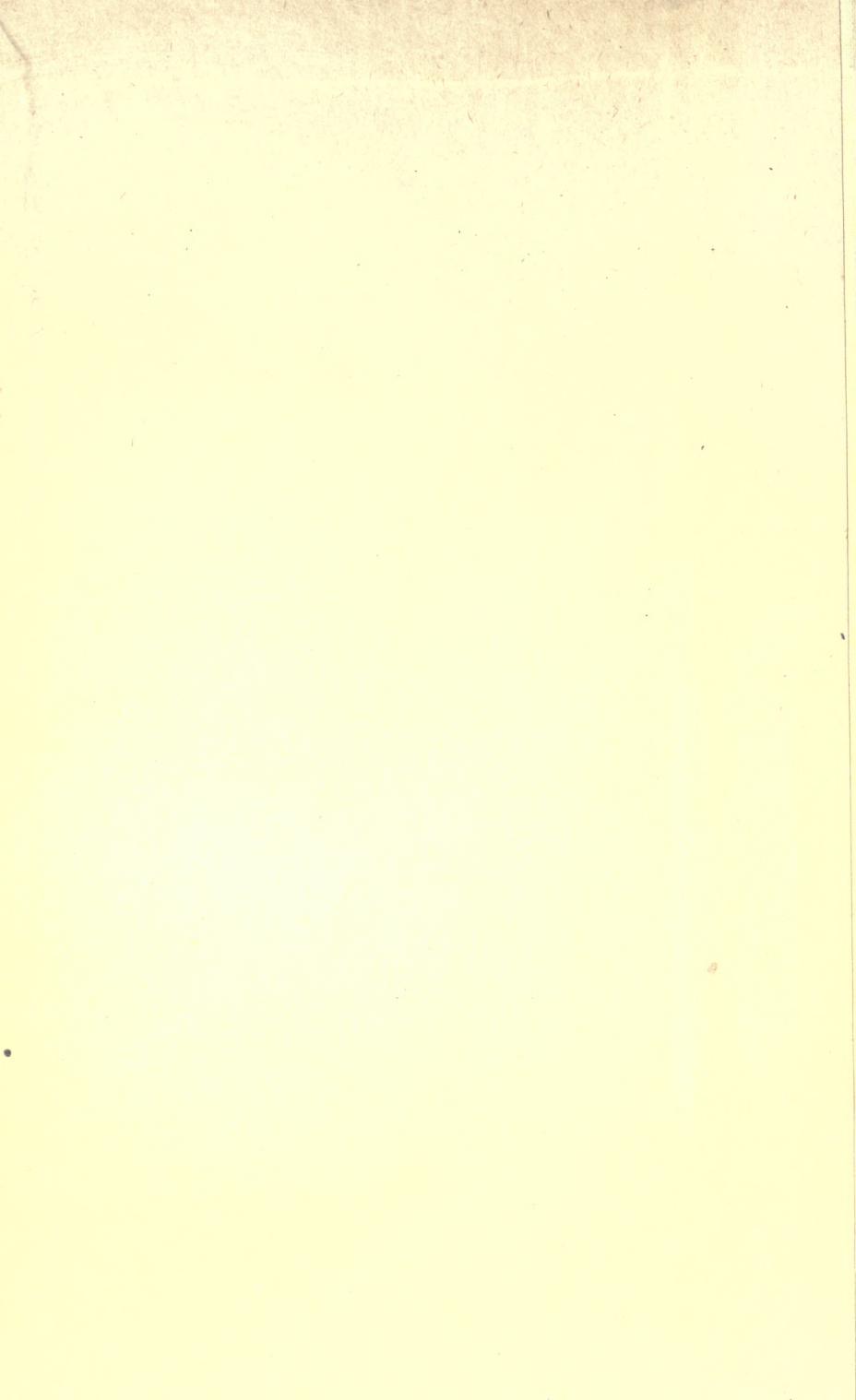


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THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

SESSION 1903-1904.

LONDON:

ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,

NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

1905.

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* From the Collection of the late Mr. David Williams, Brecknock Road, N.W.

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REPORT
OF
THE COUNCIL OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year ending November 9th, 1904.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S
ROOMS, ON THURSDAY, THE 24TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1904.

THE Council regret to report that the Society during the last year has suffered heavily owing to the removal by death of an exceptionally large number of some of its oldest members and staunchest supporters. Amongst those thus removed mention may be made of Dr. Isaac Roberts, F.R.S., of Crowborough, whose contributions to Astronomical Science have gained for him a world-wide reputation; Isaac Foulkes (*Llyfrbryf*) of Liverpool, whose services to Welsh Literature during the last forty years are acknowledged on all sides, and to whom this Society in particular was greatly indebted; Edward H. Owen of Ty-Coch, an ardent antiquary and collector of Welsh Books; William Williams of Maesygwernen, a generous supporter of the Record Series and other Cymmrodorion Funds; J. Lewis Thomas, F.S.A., one of the treasurers of the Honourable and Loyal Society of Ancient Britons; Miss L. M. Thomas of Blunsdon Abbey, Mr. Hamilton

Price, Mr. F. C. Dobbing of Chislehurst, and Sir Richard Henry Wyatt of Garthangharad.

During the year forty-four new members have been added to the Society. The Council appeal to the members generally to make known the aims and objects of the Society, with the view of filling up the gaps in the ranks, to which reference has already been made.

Whilst heartily congratulating Sir Isambard Owen, one of their colleagues, on his appointment as Principal of the Armstrong College of Science, Newcastle-on-Tyne, the Council desire to express their great regret at his removal from London, and the consequent loss of his regular attendance at the Council Meetings. They wish to place on record their sense of the inestimable service rendered by Sir Isambard Owen to the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, more especially in connection with Higher Education in Wales during the twenty-five years in which he has been a member of the Society's Council. In common with all his fellow countrymen they cordially express the hope that his services may, in the near future, be more directly retained for the Principality.

The Council also desire to express their gratification at the honour conferred by His Majesty the King on Sir T. Marchant Williams, one of the earliest of its members, and one to whom the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and Wales are deeply indebted for services in the cause of Welsh learning and Welsh Education.

In the course of the past year the following meetings have been held in London :—

1903.

November 19.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS.

December 16.—Paper on "Henry Morgan the Buccaneer", by Mr. W. Llewelyn Williams, B.C.L. Oxon; Chairman, Lord Justice Vaughan-Williams.

1904.

- January 21.—Paper on “Welsh Interludes and Twm o’r Nant”, by Mr. Isaac Foulkes (*Llyfyrbyrf*); Chairman, Rev. G. Hartwell-Jones, M.A.
- February 3.—ANNUAL DINNER, under the Chairmanship of the Right Hon. the Earl of Powis.
- February 17.—Paper on “The Origin of the Welsh Englyn and Kindred Metres”, by Professor Rhys, LL.D.; Chairman, Mr. J. Herbert Roberts, M.P.
- March 23.—Paper, “Prolegomena to the Study of old Welsh Poetry”, by Professor Anwyl, M.A.; Chairman, Mr. David Davies of Llandinam.
- June 28.—ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE, held by permission of the Master and Wardens, at Butchers’ Hall, Bartholomew Close, under the Presidency of Lord Tredegar.

At Rhyl, in the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, meetings were held:—

- On Monday evening, September 5th, 1904, at 7.30 p.m., at the Town Hall, when Papers (followed by a discussion) were read on “The Ideal of a Welsh National Library”, by Sir John Williams, Bart., Sir Isambard Owen (Senior Deputy-Chancellor of the University of Wales), and Sir Marchant Williams; Chairman, J. Herbert Lewis, Esq., M.P.
- On Wednesday, September 7th, at 9 a.m., at the Town Hall, when the same subject was further discussed; Chairman, Lewis J. Roberts, Esq., H.M.I.S.

These meetings were particularly successful, and have given a decided impetus to the movement in favour of a Welsh National Library.

During the year the following Publications have been issued to the members:—

- The Transactions* for the Session 1902-03, containing “The Decay of Tribalism in North Wales”, by Mr. Edward A. Lewis, with Appendices; “The Rules and Metres of Welsh Poetry”, by the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis; and “Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times”, by Mr. J. Romilly Allen; together with the Report of the Council and Financial Statement for the year 1902-03.
- Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XVII, containing “The Holy Grail”, by Mr. George Y. Wardle; “The Life of S. Germanus by Constantius”,

by the Rev. S. Baring Gould, M.A. ; "The Silver Plate of Jesus College, Oxford", by Mr. E. Alfred Jones, with illustrations ; "Peniarth MS. 37", edited and translated by the Rev. A. W. Wade Evans ; "Correspondence between Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd and Sir Simonds D'Ewes", transcribed by Mr. Edward Owen, and translated by the Rev. G. Hartwell-Jones ; and Notices of Books relating to Wales.

In the Record Series, Part iii of *Gildas*, edited by the Rev. Hugh Williams, and Part iii of *A Catalogue of MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum*, by Mr. Edward Owen, are in course of preparation.

The Transactions for the current year are in hand and will be issued early in 1905. The volume contains Mr. Llewelyn Williams' paper on "Henry Morgan the Buccaneer", much extended and with illustrations ; the late Mr. Isaac Foulkes' paper on "Welsh Interludes and Thomas Edwards o'r Nant" ; and Professor Anwyl's "Prolegomena to the Study of old Welsh Poetry".

Principal Rhys, of Jesus College, Oxford, having placed at the disposal of the Council his valuable work on *The Origin of the Welsh Englyn and Kindred Metres*, of which he read a short extract at the Society's Meeting in February, the Council have arranged to publish it as the *Cymmrodor* Volume for the year 1905. It is already far advanced in the press and will be ready early next year.

For the *Cymmrodor*, Vol. XIX, we have contributions promised by Mr. E. Sidney Hartland, Mr. Alfred N. Palmer, the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans, and others.

The Annual Dinner of the Society, in accordance with the wishes of some of the members, will now be held as near the beginning of each Session as may be practicable. It will be held this year on the 8th of December, at the *Hôtel Métropole*, under the presidency of Sir William H. Preece, K.C.B., F.R.S. The Council, in the name of the Society,

have invited Sir Isambard Owen to be the Society's guest on this occasion, and the invitation has been accepted.

The arrangements for the coming Session include promises of the following papers:—

“The Relation of the old Welsh Laws to the Brehon Laws”, by Mr. Brynmôr Jones, K.C., M.P.; “Sir John Philipps of Picton”, by the Rev. Thos. Shankland, B.A.; “Alawon Cymru”, by Mr. Robert Bryan; “The Welsh Epic”, by Mr. R. A. Griffith (*Elphin*).

Under the Society's Rules the term of office of the following officers expires:—

THE PRESIDENT,
THE VICE-PRESIDENT,
THE AUDITORS,

and ten members retire in accordance with Rule 4, viz. :—

MR. H. LLOYD ROBERTS.
MR. R. ARTHUR ROBERTS.
MR. RICHARD ROBERTS.
MR. J. ROMILLY ALLEN.
MR. HOWEL THOMAS.
MR. JOHN THOMAS.
MR. W. CAVE THOMAS.
SIR T. MARCHANT WILLIAMS.
MR. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS.
MR. J. W. WILLIS BUND.

The audited and certified Statement of Account for the year is appended to this Report.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1903, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1904.

Cr.

Dr.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1903 ...	23	3	0
" Subscriptions received ...	429	7	0
" Sale of Publications ...	46	4	9
By Rent of Offices, Fire and Lighting ...	89	8	7
" Publications : Cost of Printing and Distribution—			
<i>The Transactions</i> , 1902-03	£58	15	0
<i>Y Cymmrodor</i> , Vol. XVII	92	17	6
" General Printing ...	151	12	6
" Lectures, Meetings, and Conversazione ...	35	18	6
" Eisteddfod Section Expenses ...	62	2	2
" Library Expenses ...	9	3	2
" Stationery, Postage, and General Expenses ...	1	18	11
" Commission on Publications Sold and Subscriptions received (1903) ...	48	2	6
" Secretary's Remuneration ...	16	16	6
" Balance in hand ...	50	0	0
	33	11	11
	£498	14	9

Examined and found correct. Vouchers produced.

JOHN BURRELL, }
 Joint
 ELLIS W. DAVIES, } *Hon. Auditors.*
 16 January 1905.

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, *Treasurer.*
 E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*



(S^r HEN: MORGAN)

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1903-1904.

SIR HENRY MORGAN, THE BUCCANEER.¹

BY

W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, M.A., B.C.L.(OXON.)

OF the Welshmen who have played a part in the stirring drama of Empire-building, there is none so generally known as Sir Henry Morgan, the Buccaneer. His name has become a household word; his exploits in the Spanish main rival, in song and story, the heroic adventures of Drake, and Frobisher, and Hawkins. He figures as a demi-god in myths that are dear to the schoolboy heart, and his name, confounded as it has often been with the infamous Blackbeard or Teach the Pirate, and the "marooners" of a later age, has become almost synonymous with a reckless and desperate valour, joined to the baser passions of lust and cruelty and hate. Whatever be our views as to his character and achievements, there can be no doubt that he was one of the outstanding figures of his age and generation. If his deeds of derring-do are less widely known than those of Clive or Warren Hastings, the reason is not to be found so much in the lesser stature

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, 16 December 1903; Chairman, The Right Hon. Lord-Justice Vaughan-Williams.

of the man as in the more limited stage upon which he acted his valiant part. His career is indelibly associated with the history of Jamaica, the first of our Crown colonies, and his moving adventures by sea and land, his prowess, his daring, his marvellous exploits against the Spaniards—even then, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, deemed to be the mightiest nation on earth—are worthy to be chronicled side by side with those of the other masterful spirits which created and fashioned the mighty structure of the British Empire.

Yet, so little is the Romance of Welsh story known, and so flickering is the interest we have taken in our famous dead, that the name of the great Buccaneer is hardly known even to educated Welshmen, and our countrymen, in spite of their anxiety to claim celebrated men for Wales, have been loath to allow to Henry Morgan a niche in the temple of their national worthies. Professor Laughton, in his article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, has accepted without question the spurious origin which was fastened on Henry Morgan by Clark in his *Limbus Patrum*. No one knows who Henry Morgan was when he went out to the West Indies, what were his real achievements and character, and whether he was in truth such a man as Wales may justly be proud to claim as her own. In this paper I do not pretend to have solved all the mystery surrounding the birth and record of Henry Morgan; but it will be something to the good if I can brush aside the errors of Clark and Laughton, and enable the inquirer to commence his search unimpeded by the false conjectures which have hitherto been accepted as proved facts.

The classical source of most of our information about Henry Morgan, is Esquemeling's *History of the Buccaneers of America*, which was first published in Holland in 1684,

in Henry Morgan's lifetime, and which has since passed through numberless editions. It is an account written by one who was himself a member of the buccaneering crew, and though his animus against his old commander is open and unconcealed, so vigorous is the narrative, so virile the style, and so absorbing the adventures, that his book is imperishable, and his estimate of Morgan's personality will be accepted without question by most of his readers. In this wise does he compendiously introduce the Buccaneer to his public:—

“ Captain Henry Morgan was born in the Kingdom of England, and there in the Principality of Wales. His father was a rich yeoman, or farmer, and of good quality in that country, even as most who bear that name in Wales are known to be. Morgan, being as yet young, had no inclination to follow the calling of his father, and therefore left his country, and came towards the sea-coasts to seek some other employ more suitable to his humour that aspired to something else. There he found entertainment in a certain port where several ships lay at anchor, bound for the Isle of Barbadoes. With these he resolved to go in the service of one who, according to what is commonly practised in those parts by the English and other nations, sold him as soon as he came ashore. He served his time at Barbadoes, and, obtaining his liberty, he took himself to Jamaica, there to seek new fortunes. Here he found two vessels of pirates ready to go to sea, and, being destitute of employment, he went with them, with the intent to follow the exercises of that sort of people. He soon learnt the manner of living so exactly that, after he had performed three or four voyages, with profit and success, he agreed with some of his comrades, who had got by the same voyages a small parcel of money, to join stocks and buy a ship. The vessel being bought, they unanimously chose him Captain and Commander. With this ship soon after he set forth from Jamaica to cruise on the coasts of Campeche, in which voyage he took several ships, with which he returned triumphantly to the same island. Here he found an old pirate, named Mansvelt, busied in equipping a considerable fleet, with design to land on the Continent, and pillage whatever came in his way. Mansvelt, seeing Captain Morgan

return with so many prizes, judged him from his actions to be a man of undaunted courage, and chose him for his Vice-Admiral in that expedition."¹

I have given Esquemeling's account at length because he is almost our sole authority for the early career of Henry Morgan, nor can I doubt that he is substantially accurate in his relation of the facts.

Henry Morgan, then, was born in the Principality of Wales. In his will² he refers to "my ever honourable cousin, Mr. Thomas Morgan of Tredegar." That he was a scion of that famous house—which gave to our great Welsh Bard his Maecenas and to Mary Queen of Scots her most devoted servant—there can be no doubt. In August 1672, William Morgan of Tredegar, writing in a neat hand, worthy of one who was Clerk to the Stables, to Sir Joseph Williamson, on behalf of Henry Morgan, who was then in temporary disgrace, calls him "a relation and formerly a neer neighbour".³ But to what branch of that wide-spreading family he belonged is a more difficult question to answer. Clark, in his *Limbus*, sets out a pedigree which shows Henry Morgan to be the eldest son of Robert Morgan, who was the third son of William Morgan of Llanrhunney.⁴ I do not know upon what authority Clark constructed such a pedigree, but it can be proved to demonstration that it is purely fictitious. In the first place, Robert Morgan, the putative father, is described as "of London". But Morgan of Tredegar described Henry Morgan as "a neer neighbour", while Esquemeling calls Henry Morgan's father a "rich yeoman".

¹ Esquemeling's *History of the Buccaneers* (Swan Sonnenschein, 1898), pp. 120-1.

² His will was proved in Jamaica, but its contents are given by Long in *Add. MSS.* 27,968.

³ *Cal. of State Papers*, Chas. II, 1671, p. 437.

⁴ Clark's *Limbus Patrum*, pp. 310, *seq.*

In the second place, Clark states that Robert Morgan's second son was Thomas Morgan of Llangattock, who died in the year 1670, *atate* seventy-three. The second son being born in 1597, the eldest son would have been born some time before that year. Henry Morgan would therefore have been born about 1595. He would have arrived at the discreet age of seventy before starting on his piratical career; he would be in the full vigour of seventy-six when he achieved his greatest exploit, and he would have been prematurely gathered to his fathers at the green age of ninety-three! Thirdly, Henry Morgan, in his will, makes mention of several of his near relatives, including Catherine Lloyd, his sister. He makes no allusion, however, to his brother, and he leaves his property to his wife's nephew, and not to his own nephew, Sir John Morgan of Kinnersley Court, Hereford. Lastly, Clark, on another page,¹ asserts that Sir Thomas Morgan, the famous soldier of fortune of the Low Countries, and afterwards one of Cromwell's men, was the second son of Robert Morgan. This Sir Thomas Morgan, who was a veteran at the outbreak of the Puritan Rebellion, was therefore the younger brother of Sir Henry Morgan! Clark, in fine, has hopelessly muddled the Buccaneer's pedigree, and his inaccuracies, self-evident though they are, have been slavishly followed by the writers in *The Dictionary of National Biography*.

Beyond this negative conclusion it would be unsafe to travel, with our present information. But there is one suggestion which it may be permissible to make. Sir Henry Morgan, in his will, which was made in June 1688, mentions two properties owned by him in Jamaica, and called "Lanrumney" and "Pencarn". The reference to Lanrumney is easily explainable. His wife, Mary Eliza-

¹ Clark's *Limbus Patrum*, p. 315.

beth, was the daughter of Lieut.-General Edward Morgan, the second son of Thomas Morgan of Lanrumney. By Gen. Morgan's will, dated March 24, 1664-5, he leaves his house in London "with my pretence upon Lanrumney" (under his father's will) to his daughter "Maria Elisabet", who afterwards married her kinsman, Henry Morgan. But why did Henry Morgan name his other Jamaican estate "Pencarn"? Pencarn was an old mansion belonging to the Morgans of Tredegar, and situate in the parish of Basalleg, near the historic home of the Morgans. There was an offshoot of the Morgans at Pencarn in 1595, but it died out, and I have not been able to discover when a new branch of the Morgans settled there again. I venture, however, to suggest that Sir Henry Morgan may have been the son of a younger son of Thomas Morgan of Machen and Tredegar, whose will was made in 1603; and that the branch of the Morgans from which Henry Morgan sprang may have settled at Pencarn early in the seventeenth century. Henry Morgan would thus have been "a neer neighbour" of Morgan of Tredegar.

A deposition at the Board of Trade, made on Dec. 21, 1671, states that at that time Henry Morgan was about the age of thirty-six.¹ He was therefore born in or about the year 1635. That date is probably not wide of the mark. Before arriving at man's estate the Civil War was over, else we may be sure that an adventurous youth of loyal stock would have been found fighting for country and for king. But Henry Morgan is never mentioned as having taken part in the great Civil War.

"I sucked the milk of loyalty," he asserts in one of his rare letters, "and if I would have sold one little part of it I might have been richer than my enemies ever will be."²

The allusion is cryptic. Does it refer to some incident

¹ *Cal. S. P., passim.*

² *Cal. S. P., 1676, Nov., 1129.5.*

in his hot youth? Did he, when he grew to understand the strange things that were happening around him, refuse to bow to the Government of the day, and become classed as a "malignant"? Was it disgust at Puritan rule that impelled him to seek adventures abroad? Or is the allusion to some later incident,—to some temptation to cast aside his British citizenship, and either to realise Mansfeld's dream of founding a Buccaneer State or to serve under French or Spanish King? At all events, we know that he left Wales in the heyday of youth. One Richard Browne, writing from Jamaica to Lord Arlington, on Oct. 12, 1670, says:—

"I thincke fitt further to advise your Honour that Admiral Morgan hath bin in the Indys 11 or 12 yeares, from a private gentleman by his valour hath raised himself to now what he is, and I assure your Honour that noe man whatever knowes better, can out do or give so clear an account of the Spanish force, strength, or comerce."¹

Henry Morgan therefore seems to have reached the West Indies about the year 1658, when he was about twenty-three years of age. In 1665 we find that a certain Captain Morgan, who having commanded a privateer from the beginning of 1663, associated with John Morris and Jackman in their expedition up the river Tobacco, in the Bay of Campeachy, when they took and plundered Vildemos. Then, returning, they went up the San Juan river in canoes as far as Lake Nicaragua, landed near Granada, which they sacked, and came away after overturning the guns and sinking the boats. Professor Laughton seems uncertain whether the Captain Morgan of this expedition was our Henry Morgan; but the direct and positive statement of Esquemeling (cited above) puts the matter beyond dispute. Morris and Jackman were the

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, 1670, No. 293.

two "pirates" to whom Esquemeling alludes as being the first two associates of Henry Morgan.

I am indeed disposed to think that young Morgan left his native land earlier than the year 1658. Our informant, Browne, is not precise in his statement, and obviously only gave an approximate date. The period of apprenticeship at the Barbadoes was seven years, and we are expressly told that young Morgan completed his term of service before moving to Jamaica. Esquemeling also tells us (as indeed it would only be reasonable to infer) that young Morgan performed three or four voyages before he became captain of a ship. As he got his command early in 1663, it is more than probable that the three or four voyages which he had previously made consumed two or three years. If, therefore, we conclude that he came to Jamaica about the year 1660, and that he had previously served seven years in Barbadoes, we find that Henry Morgan left his country in search of adventure and fame and fortune in or about 1653, when he was seventeen or eighteen years of age. This, I suggest, is a far more reasonable and probable conjecture than the other. A generous youth of seventeen is more likely to have run away to sea than a young man of twenty-three. In one of his letters, written in 1680, Sir Henry Morgan makes another interesting reference to his early life:—

"I left the schools too young", he said, "to be proficient in . . . the laws, and have been much more used to the pike than the book."¹

I have therefore come to the following conclusions with regard to Henry Morgan's early life—conclusions, however, which are entirely based on the facts I have already detailed, and which may well be displaced by the discovery

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, Feb. 24, 1680, No. 1304; *Col. Pap.*, xlv, 30, i-iii.

of new facts at present unknown to me. He was born at Pencarn, near Newport, in the parish of Basalleg, in the county of Monmouth, in 1635, he ran away to sea about 1653, he shipped at Bristol, and served his seven years' apprenticeship in the plantations at Barbadoes, about 1660 he obtained his liberty and proceeded to Jamaica, there he joined the Buccaneers, and early in 1663 was elected to the command of a vessel, and in January 1665, with John Morris and Jackman as colleagues, he entered upon a larger fame by his successful expedition against the Spaniards in the Bay of Campeachy.¹

In June 1664, however, an event happened which turned the fortunes of our adventurer. Sir Thomas Modyford was sent out as Governor, and Sir Edward Morgan as Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica. Sir Edward was, as has been seen, a kinsman of the buccaneer, and he seems to have been a kindly, affectionate, and well-intentioned man, with a quiverful of daughters and scanty means to bring them up on. He has given an account of his fortunes in a Memorial, which he sent to the King in February 1664-5:—

“I was in ye yeere 49 possest of a worthy lady, of a higher quality than myselfe,² with halffe a dossen sweet babes, a beginning of or future numerous family, and w^h all had then 3000^{lb} in my purse w^{ch} made me with my charges Live neatly, And lay up wth some other Land Rents that I had £300 a year.”³

¹ In the course of this expedition they took and plundered Vildemos. On their return they crossed the Bay of Honduras, took Truxilla, and further south went up the San Juan river in canoes as far as Lake Nicaragua, sacked Granada, and came away, after overturning the guns and sinking the boats.—*Cal. S. P.*, America and West Indies, 1 March 1666, No. 1,142.

² Sir Edward Morgan's wife was a daughter of Baron Pollintz, of Holland.

³ *Cal. S. P.*, *passim*; *Add. MSS.* 27,968, f. 139.

His eldest daughter, Anna Petronella, was married soon after coming to Jamaica, to Colonel Robert Byndloss, a scion of a Westmoreland family, who had settled in the island. His son, Charles Morgan, we shall hear a good deal of again. He became a member of the Council of Jamaica, and was at one time Secretary to the Council. His other son died young. His second daughter and fourth child, Mary Elizabeth, was married in 1665 to her kinsman, Henry Morgan, and survived him for many years. All his other children married and settled down in Jamaica, and became the founders of many of the principal families in the island.

In the summer of 1665, Sir Edward Morgan was sent on an expedition against the Spaniards in Cuba. An engagement took place, and almost the first to fall was the British commander. This is the account of his death sent home by Sir Thomas Modyford on November 16, 1665:—

“The good old Coll. leaping out of the boat, being a corpulent man, got a straine, and yet his spirit being great, he pursued over earnestly the enemy about a mile and a halfe, in a narrow place between two hills, and in a hot day, so y^t he surffeted and suddenly died, to almost y^e losse of y^e whole designe.”¹

It was a grievous blow to the infant English power in the West Indies. Up to that time, the buccaneers, though their designs were winked at, were not recognised, nor were their doings regularised by the authorities. They did not carry the King's Commission, and if captured they were liable to be, and were in fact, dealt with as pirates. They fought for booty, not for patriotism. They attacked the Spaniards, not so much because the Spaniards were the traditional enemies of England, as because they

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, *passim*; see also Long's article in *Gentleman's Magazine*, February and March, 1832.

were the masters of the New World, and took care, by vigorous exclusion of foreign commerce, to isolate their colonies from the rest of the world. Such an Empire was the natural enemy of all adventurers, commercial and otherwise. The buccaneers of the West Indies were composed of men of all nations. Esquemeling was a Dutchman; L'Ollonais, Morgan's greatest predecessor, was a Frenchman; representatives of every nation in Europe were to be found in their ranks. Their very name of "buccaneers" (*boucanier*, *i.e.*, one who cures meat by the *boucan* process) was of French origin. After Jamaica had been captured by Cromwell's forces in 1654, it naturally became the rendezvous of the English buccaneers. The islanders, rough, adventurous men, who hated Spain, were glad to welcome into their midst men who made and spent their money easily. International law is not, even in our days, a fixed science. Two centuries and a half ago, especially in the wild New World, its rules were still less ascertained and observed. Since the days of Elizabeth, Spain had been either formally or informally at war with England. The treaty of peace, which was concluded in 1670, admits the existence of a state of war between the two nations up to that year. Under these circumstances it was no wonder that English buccaneers preyed on Spanish commerce, or that English colonists aided and abetted the "pirates" to gather their forces and to realise their plunder.

Though so closely related to the Commander, Henry Morgan took no part in the Cuban expedition of 1665. Indeed, this was the year that he was engaged with his two colleagues in the Expedition to the Bay of Campeachy. After the failure of the expedition, Sir Thomas Modyford was in desperate straits. A disastrous blow had been struck to English prestige, and as the safety of

Jamaica depended more on prestige than on power, something had to be done to revive our credit. In this pass, it was perhaps only natural that the Governor should turn for help to the daring spirits who had for so long been waging war on their own account against the Spaniards. In the summer of 1666, Sir Thomas Modyford commissioned a noted buccaneer named Mansfield or Mansfeld to fit out an expedition against Curaçoa. By this time Morgan had gained wide fame for his success in Campeachy, he had married the daughter of the late Lieut.-Governor and was therefore in touch with the authorities,¹ and Mansfeld enlisted his services under him as Vice-Admiral. The expedition met with an initial disaster. Mansfeld was captured and put to death by the Spaniards,² and in the early months of 1667, Henry Morgan, by that time a man of thirty-two, was appointed to the chief command.

The following year saw Morgan engaged on a still more important undertaking. He was commissioned by the Governor to draw together the English privateers, and take prisoners of the Spanish nation, whereby he might be informed of the intentions of the enemy.³ He had under him ten sail of ships and five hundred men.⁴ With this small force he attacked, took, and sacked the two im-

¹ He was not married at the date of Sir Edw. Morgan's will, Feb. 1665, but later in the year Sir Thos. Modyford refers to him and Col. Byndloss as "brothers-in-law".

² That is the account given in the State Papers, America and West Indies, 1666, No. 1,827. Esquemeling, whose narrative is not trustworthy, states that Mansfeld failed to secure the co-operation or countenance of the Governor of Jamaica, and went "on his own" to the Island of Tortuga, where "death suddenly surprised him".—Esquemeling, p. 123.

³ *Cal. S. P.*, America and West Indies, Sept. 7, 1668, No. 1,838.

⁴ Esquemeling says twelve sail and seven hundred men (p. 133).

portant towns of Porto Principe and Porto Bello. In August 1668, he returned in triumph, having lost only eighteen men killed and thirty-two men wounded.¹

In the following February we hear that Morgan was sent out again on fresh expeditions. The State Papers are silent as to their destination and issue, but Esquemeling gives a very spirited and dramatic account of them. Captain Morgan, it seems, went against Gibraltar and Maracaibo. He succeeded in completely baffling the Spaniards by a mixture of shrewdness and daring. He destroyed the "Spanish Armada" which had been sent out expressly to cope with the English privateers, and by a clever ruse he successfully escaped from Lake Maracaibo under the very shadow of the great fort which guarded the entrance. Before starting for home, he divided the booty among his comrades. "The accounts being cast up, they found to the value of two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight in money and jewels, besides the huge quantity of merchandise and slaves."²

¹ Esquemeling gives a long and detailed account of this expedition (pp. 131-149). According to him, Morgan made two expeditions. In the first, which was directed against Porto Principe in Cuba, he was aided by French buccaneers. After taking and plundering the town, he parted company with the French, and returned to Jamaica. Thence he proceeded to Porto Bello, in the Isthmus of Panama, which he took and sacked, in September 1668. When he came to divide the spoils between his comrades on the Island of Cuba "they found in ready money two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, besides all other merchandises, as cloth, linen, silks, and other goods". It is noteworthy that Esquemeling treats these expeditions as Morgan's private and piratical enterprises, whereas there can be no doubt that Morgan held a commission from the Governor of Jamaica (see *Cal. S. P.*, Col. America and West Indies, *e.g.*, June 16, 1666, No. 1,216; Sept. 7, 1668, No. 1,838; Nov. 9, 1668, No. 1,867; Oct. 1, 1668, No. 1,850).

² Esquemeling, pp. 178-9. Esquemeling seems to imply (*see* p. 150) that the Maracaibo expedition was made with the connivance of the

A short period of peace and quiet ensued, but in the summer of 1670 the doings of a vapouring Spanish captain resulted in the biggest of Morgan's exploits. A certain Manuel Rivero Pardal, commanding a frigate of fourteen guns, descended upon Jamaica, captured some small vessels, burnt houses, and took away a good deal of booty. Before leaving the island, he added insult to injury by nailing to a tree near the west point of the island an insolent challenge to the redoubted Admiral of the privateers. It ran as follows:—

“I, Captain Manuel Rivero Pardal, to the chief of the squadron of privateers in Jamaica. I am he who this year have done that which follows. I went on shore at Caimanos, and burnt twenty houses, and fought with Captain Ary, and took from him a catch laden with provisions and a canoe. And I am he that took Captain Baines and did carry the prize to Carthagena, and now am arrived to this coast, and have burnt it. And I come to seek General Morgan, with two ships and twenty guns, and having seen this, I crave he would come out upon the coast and seek me, that he might see the valour of the Spaniards. And because I had no time I did not come to the mouth of Port Royal to speak by word of mouth in the name of my King, whom God preserve. Dated the 5th of July 1670.”¹

Though this was the spark that ignited the flame, it was inevitable that the Spaniard should make reprisals on the English for the countenance afforded to the buccaneers by the Governor of Jamaica. A minute of the Council of Jamaica, dated June 29, 1670, states:—

“Whereas by copy of a commission sent by William Beck, Governor of Curaçoa, to Governor Sir Thomas Modyford, from the Queen Regent of Spain, dated 20 April 1669, her

Governor of Jamaica, though he does not state (as was the fact) that Morgan held the Governor's commission. He accuses Morgan of practising horrible cruelties on some of his prisoners, though he admits that others he treated with leniency and mercy.

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, Oct. 12, 1670, No. 310, ii.

Governors in the Indies are commanded to make open war against His Majesty's subjects, and that the Spanish Governors have granted commissions and are levying forces against the English, and in accordance with the last article of His Majesty's instructions to Governor Modyford "in this great and urgent necessity" it is ordered that a commission be granted to Admiral Henry Morgan to be Commander-in-Chief of all ships of war belonging to this harbour, and to attack, seize, and destroy the enemy's vessels."¹

Morgan's commission was made out on July 2,² and on the same day the Governor, Sir Thomas Modyford, instructed him

"to take St. Jago, to kill all male slaves, to send the women hither to be sold, to treat prisoners as ours have been treated, or rather, as our custom is, to exceed them in civility and humanity, endeavouring to make all people sensible of his moderation and good nature, and his inaptitude and loathness to spill the blood of man."³

In August 1670 Morgan sailed with ten ships and one thousand five hundred men towards Cuba. All parties at the time in Jamaica were of one mind as to the necessity of the expedition. The Governor was supported by a unanimous Council, and Richard Browne, who was appointed Surgeon-General of the fleet, and who afterwards became one of Morgan's severest critics, writes to Mr. Secretary Williamson, on the eve of starting, that he finds Sir Thomas Modyford

"very well resented by the people for a wise, sober, honest, and discreet man, as also Lieutenant-Colonel Byndlosse."⁴

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, America and West Indies, June 29, 1670, No. 209.

² *Ib.*, No. 211.

³ *Ib.*, No. 211. *Col. Pp.*, xxv, 46. Esquemeling asserts that Morgan was only induced to go upon this expedition because he and his captain had spent their money in debauchery. He terms the King of England Morgan's "pretended master" (p. 189), and does not believe that Morgan held an Admiral's Commission. This is only important as showing Esquemeling's animus against Morgan.

⁴ *Cal. S. P.*, America and West Indies, Aug. 7, 1670, No. 227.

One of the first incidents of the expedition was of good omen. Our old friend, Captain John Morris, driven by a gale into a bay at the east end of Cuba, found Signor Pardal, "the vapouring Admiral of St. Jago," who had been sent double-manned and with eighty musketeers on land to attack an English captain, who was careening there. At the first volley the Spaniards left their guns, but Pardal, as brave as he was vainglorious, ran to bring them back. While in the act of rallying his men, the gallant Spaniard was shot through the neck and immediately died. His frigate was added to Morgan's fleet.¹

For some time, however, things did not go smoothly. Morgan, with seven vessels, became separated from the rest in a gale—probably the gale that drove Captain Morris to Pardal. Browne tells Lord Arlington that without Morgan and his privateers success was impossible.

"Without Admiral Morgan and his old privateers things cannot be as successful as expected, for they know every creek, and the Spaniard's mode of fighting, and be a town never so well fortified, and the numbers never so unequal, if money or good plunder be in the case, they will either win it manfully or die courageously."

Sir Thomas Modyford kept on sending reinforcements to Morgan, and his old companions in arms flocked to the old rendezvous in Hispaniola, so that by December, when he was ready to start against Panama, he had under him a fleet of thirty-five sail and two thousand men.

No sooner had Morgan left Jamaica than divisions broke out. In September, Colonel, afterwards Sir Thomas, Lynch, came out as Lieutenant-Governor. From the start he took up a firm attitude against the aggressive "forward" policy of the Governor, and especially against

¹ *Cal. S. P., America and West Indies, Oct. 12, 1670, No. 293; Oct. 31, No. 310.*

his policy with regard to the buccaneers. In the West Indies the Spaniards were still "the enemy", but in England opinion was rapidly changing. One hundred years of constant warfare had broken the mighty power of Spain. She was still England's traditional enemy, and so shrewd a statesman as Cromwell regarded her as formidable. But a new generation and a new school of statesmen had sprung up, who feared the growing power of France under the ambitious direction of Louis XIV, and looked upon the Spanish Empire as a pricked bubble. In the autumn of 1670 a treaty of peace was concluded between England and Spain, and there is little doubt that Lynch was sent out to Jamaica in order to inaugurate the new policy of friendship with Spain, and breach with the buccaneers. One almost suspects that word was sent secretly to Morgan at Hispaniola of the new departure in England's policy. It is difficult, on any other assumption, to explain how Morgan was allowed to proceed on his expedition. A letter from Jamaica, dated December 15, announces the fact that "our fleet of thirty-five sail are gone to take Panama".¹ Sir Thomas Modyford, writing to Lord Arlington on December 18, states that before his Lordship's express had arrived, he had despatched to Morgan a copy of the articles of peace with Spain, but that the vessel had returned with Morgan's letters, having missed him at his old rendezvous. It is added that a vessel had again been sent after the Admiral, with the hope that news of the treaty of peace might reach him before he had committed any act of hostility.² It is impossible to do away with the suspicion that the Governor was not anxious to disperse an expedition which had been gathered together at such great trouble and

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, Dec. 15, 1670, No. 358.

² *Cal. S. P.*, America and West Indies, Dec. 18, 1670, No. 359.

expense, before it had had time to strike a blow; and that the Admiral, who now found himself at the head of the greatest fleet that had ever sailed from Jamaica, was not so scrupulous in the means he employed to avoid the despatches, which would shatter his hopes of fame and loot. It is at all events certain that, either by happy coincidence or by design, Admiral Morgan was not recalled, and that, at a time when England and Spain were at peace, he, as bearing the King's Commission, attacked, took, and plundered the city of Panama, one of the greatest and wealthiest towns in the Spanish colonies.

When news of Morgan's expedition reached England prompt measures were taken to show the Government's disapproval. It was too late to stop Morgan, but not to visit the royal displeasure on the Governor who had failed in his duty. Early in January 1671 Sir Thomas Modyford was recalled, and Lynch was appointed Acting-Governor. The King sent a messenger to Lynch ordering him, as soon as he safely could, to arrest the Governor and to send him home under a strong guard to answer for the "many depre-dations and hostilities against the subjects of His Majesty's good brother the Catholic King" which were charged against him.¹

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, Nos. 377, 405. It is typical of the way in which Morgan's career has been misunderstood that the latest editor of Esquemeling's memoirs (Swan Sonnenschein, 1898) should have entirely mistaken the purport of the Panama Expedition. He says that after the conclusion of the treaty of peace "a proclamation was issued . . . which greatly exasperated the freebooting community, and the direct result of which was the assemblage of the largest fleet ever brought together by the buccaneers". (Intro., xx.) As a matter of fact, the expedition was due to the activity of the Governor of Jamaica, and Morgan had started from that island in August, long before the existence of the treaty could even have been suspected or anticipated in the West Indies. Esquemeling, in order to give verisimilitude to his romance, says (on p. 191) that Morgan "weighed

Meanwhile Morgan was pursuing his victorious advance on Panama. On December 15, Colonel Bradley (or Brodely, as Esquemeling calls him) with four hundred and seventy men, took the Castle of Chagre (or Chagraw) by storm, after a gallant resistance by the Spanish Governor, who perished in the assault. Morgan followed with the rest of his forces. He left three hundred men behind at the Castle, under Major Norman, to guard the vessels, while he himself, with one thousand four hundred men, in seven ships and thirty-six boats, started up the river towards Panama on January 9, 1671. After a short journey he was forced to leave his vessels under the guard of Captain Delander and two hundred men and to betake himself "to the wild woods". On January 15 a skirmish took place with the enemy two miles from Venta Cruse. "It is," said Morgan in his Report,¹ "a very fine village where they land and embark all goods for Panama, but we found it, as the rest, all on fire and the enemy fled." The following day they began their march, four abreast, the enemy galling them with ambuscades. On the 17th of January they saw the enemy, with two thousand one hundred foot and six hundred horse. The buccaneers were in evil plight. Of the one thousand four hundred men that had started from the Castle of Chagre, two hundred had been left behind to guard the boats. The ten days' march through "the wild woods" had weakened the others. Their provisions had given out, and they had been reduced to eating leather.² So weakened were they that even a small allowance of wine found in a

anchor" from Cape Tiburon, off Hispaniola, on the 16th December. In fact, he had done so long before, for on December 15 Chagre was taken.

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, Apr. 20, 1671, No. 504.

² *Esquemeling*, 208.

gentleman's cellar so affected them that at first they thought the wine was poisoned.¹ Morgan's courage, however, rose with his difficulties. He was always of good cheer, and he never despaired of the issue. On December 18 he drew up his men in the form of a *tertia*. The van, consisting of three hundred men, was led by Colonel Prince and Major John Morris; of the main body, comprising six hundred men, the right wing was led by Morgan himself, the left by Colonel Collyer, and the rear-guard of three hundred men was commanded by Colonel Bledry Morgan, "a good old soldier" from Carmarthenshire. After a hot fight, lasting several hours, by three o'clock in the afternoon the city was captured. The casualties on the English side were five killed and ten wounded; on the Spanish four hundred killed. The city was fired by the Spaniards,² and by midnight only two churches and three hundred houses remained.

"Thus was consumed," says Morgan in his Report, "the famous and ancient city of Panama, which is the greatest mart for gold and silver that comes from the mines of Peru and Potozi."³

The tired troops remained in Panama for twenty-eight days and took three thousand prisoners. By February 14 they were once more at Venta Cruse,⁴ where they remained till the 24th. On the 26th they arrived, where the plunder (which Morgan says amounted to thirty thousand pounds)⁵

¹ *Esq.*, 212.

² Esquemeling, with his usual unfairness, ascribes the fire to the unreasoning and unreasonable cruelty of Morgan (223), but it was not to Morgan's interest to fire the city, and it was the policy of the Spaniards to set fire to all the towns and buildings they abandoned.

³ *Cal. S. P.*, Apr. 20, 1671, No. 504.

⁴ With his habitual inaccuracy Esquemeling gives February 24 as the date of the departure of Morgan from Panama (p. 234).

⁵ *Cal. S. P.*, Apr. 20, 1671, No. 504.

was divided, the castle fired, and the guns spiked. On March 6 they sailed for Jamaica, where they were received with jubilant satisfaction. "Many thanks" were showered on the victorious commander by Governor and Council. Sir Thomas Modyford was ignorant of the purport of the orders sent from home in January to Lynch, and doubtless he thought that the complete success of Morgan justified the expedition. There can be no doubt that Morgan had effectually pricked the bubble of Spanish prestige in the New World. As the Anabasis demonstrated to the world the rottenness of the Persian Empire, and paved the way for the adventurous career of Alexander, so Morgan's expedition showed on how weak and vulnerable a foundation the Spanish dominion stood. In the exuberance of the mafficking hour, no one thought of the political consequences or paid any heed to the grumbling of the disillusioned buccaneers. Of the two thousand who started for Panama only some seven hundred returned.¹ No wonder Sir Thomas Lynch wrote to Lord Arlington in July:—

"This voyage has mightily lessened and humbled them, and they would take it for a great compliment to be severe with Morgan, whom they rail on horribly for starving, cheating, and deserting them."²

It was not long before the notorious commander was loaded with abuse. Browne, who came back an embittered and disillusioned man, sent a long and railing letter to Williamson. After describing the hunger and privations of the return journey from Panama, he says that

"the commander could have prevented it, but insisted on

¹ Browne states that one thousand eight hundred men received a share of the spoils at Chagre, so that only two hundred or so were lost in the expedition itself.

² *Cal. S. P.*, July 2, 1671, No. 580.

loading mules that might have brought provisions, with plate and other plunder to the value of above seventy thousand pounds, besides other rich goods, and cheated the soldiers of a vast sum, each man having but ten pounds a share, and the whole number not being above one thousand eight hundred."

At Chagre the commanders gave what they pleased,

"for which . . . we must be content, or else clapped in irons."

Many starved. Browne says that only ten out of the whole thirty-five ships returned. He cannot tell what infatuated "our Grandees" to send forth such a fleet on so slender an account. He can

"find no other cause but a pitiful small Spanish man-of-war, of eight guns, which came vapouring upon these coasts with a commission from the Queen of Spain . . . took one small vessel . . . burnt four or five houses, and took away about thirty live hogs . . . and he himself was taken with his ship."

To such small compass had the "insulting and domineering" expedition of Admiral Pardal been reduced in less than twelve months; and Morgan, who had been Browne's hero in October 1670, was now, in August 1671, a cheat, a tyrant, and a ruffian! Accusations, familiar to students of the Empire's history, were, perhaps for the first time, formulated against the Panama raid. The "trail of finance" was said to be upon it all.

"Spanish gold and silver is the only cause of the quarrel; and they can easily make a ground for the contest, for the first design is the getting of prisoners, whom they force, some by torments, to say that either at Carthagena, Porto Bello, or other maritime place, they are mustering men and fitting a fleet to invade Jamaica; and those who will not subscribe what they know not are cut in pieces, shot, or hanged; which they did to a poor Captain at Hispaniola, whom a month after quarter they hanged for not subscribing what they suggested; but what they extorted from other pitiful

Spaniards was the sole groundwork of our design. There have been very great complaints by the wronged seamen in Sir Thomas Modyford's time against Admiral Morgan, Collier, and other Commanders, but nothing could be done. But since Sir Thomas Lynch's arrival they are left to the law. The Commanders but seldom appear."¹

It is only fair to Morgan, however, to say that I can find no trace of a specific accusation against him, beyond the vague general accusation of having cheated and starved his men. As to the ill-treatment of prisoners, Morgan's conduct should not be judged by the standard of a later age, but by the circumstances and the conventions of his own time and surroundings. He was the leader of a body of buccaneers, who could expect no mercy at the hands of the Spaniards if they were captured. His men were used to wild work, and a commander who was over-scrupulous in his methods would never either win their regard or succeed in his desperate undertaking. Sir Thomas Modyford was an English gentleman who had never been a buccaneer; yet he was not ashamed to give written instructions to Morgan to kill all men slaves, and sell all women prisoners to slavery. He even bade Morgan to treat his prisoners as the enemy treated Englishmen. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that sometimes the buccaneers tortured their prisoners in order to extort information from them. Browne does not assert, as Esquemeling does, that prisoners were tortured for money, though that also may have occasionally been done. All that can be said is that Morgan was no worse than his contemporaries, and even Esquemeling records instances of his generous clemency to his captive foes.

The accusation of bad faith against his comrades I regard as more serious. The charge of cheating

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, August 21, 1671, No. 608.

depends on the amount of the booty. Morgan himself says it was thirty thousand pounds; Browne puts it at seventy thousand pounds. Esquemeling does not give the value, but says that the spoils of Panama were carried to Chagre by "one hundred and seventy-five beasts of carriage, laden with silver, gold, and other precious things, besides six hundred prisoners, more or less, between men, women, children, and slaves".¹ That there were loud complaints at Chagre about the division of the spoils may be taken for granted. Browne's account is corroborated by Esquemeling. The latter recounts how Morgan insisted on every one of the adventurers being searched "very strictly, both in their clothes and satchels, and everywhere it might be presumed they had reserved anything. Yea, to the intent this order might not be ill taken by his companions, he permitted himself to be searched, even to the very soles of his shoes." Esquemeling commends the wisdom of this course, "Captain Morgan having had experience that those lewd fellows would not stickle to swear falsely in points of interest." Even at Panama a large company of the buccaneers had planned to put off surreptitiously in a ship laden with the best of the spoils. It was only the vigilance of Morgan that had defeated the project. Having now had to disgorge their private loot, the adventurers no doubt formed extravagant expectations as to their share from the common stock. Esquemeling states that at Chagre

"the dividend was made of all the spoil they had purchased in that voyage. Thus every company, and every particular person therein included, received their portion of what was got; or, rather, what part thereof Captain Morgan was pleased to give them. For so it was, that the rest

¹ *Esq.*, 234.

of his companions, even of his own nation, complained of his proceedings in this particular, and feared not to tell him openly to his face, that he had reserved the best of the jewels to himself. For they judged it impossible that no greater share should belong to them than two hundred pieces of eight *per capita* of so many valuable booties and robberies as they had obtained. Which small sum they thought too little reward for so much labour and such huge and manifest dangers as they had so often exposed their lives to. But Captain Morgan was deaf to all these and many other complaints of this kind, having designed in his mind to cheat them of as much as he could.¹

It is, of course, impossible now to apportion the rights and wrongs of the matter. All that can be said is that, though the adventurers were disappointed and indignant, there is no evidence that Morgan dealt with them in bad faith. Before starting on the expedition Morgan had taken the precaution to get the officers to sign an agreement as to the rate of division of booty.

“Herein,” says Esquemeling, “it was stipulated that he (Morgan) should have the hundredth part of all that was gotten to himself alone. That every captain should draw the shares of eight men, for the expenses of his ship, besides his own. That the surgeon, besides his ordinary pay, should have two hundred pieces of eight, for his chest of medicaments. And every carpenter, above his common salary, should draw one hundred pieces of eight. As to recompences and rewards, they were regulated in this voyage much higher than was expressed in the first part of this book. Thus for the loss of both legs, they assigned one thousand five hundred pieces of eight or fifteen slaves, the choice being left to the election of the party; for the loss of both hands, one thousand eight hundred pieces of eight or eighteen slaves. For one leg, whether the right or the left, six hundred pieces of eight or six slaves; for a hand, as much as a leg; and for the loss of an eye, one hundred pieces of eight or one slave. Lastly, unto him that in any

¹ *Esq.*, 237.

battle should signalise himself, either by entering the first any castle, or taking down the Spanish colours and setting up the English, they constituted fifty pieces of eight for a reward. In the head of these articles it was stipulated that all these extraordinary salaries, recompences, and rewards should be paid out of the first spoil or purchase they should take."¹

These articles were well known, and the officers of the expedition signed them before starting on behalf of all. Esquemeling does not suggest that the "extraordinary salaries, recompences, and rewards" were not duly paid. It may be that the buccaneers did not realise how the matter would work out, but Morgan was undoubtedly within his rights in insisting on the observance of the terms of the agreement. If Browne's estimate of the value of the booty is correct, then the men were cheated. But Browne's estimate is the mere guess-work of a disappointed adventurer. The booty of the Porto Bello and the Maracaibo expeditions amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight. No doubt Panama was a much richer city, but Esquemeling describes how much of the wealth of the town escaped Morgan. In the first place, the burning of the city destroyed a good deal of the plunder. In the second place, the inhabitants had had timely warning of the expedition, and had hidden away a great portion of their valuables. Esquemeling tells also of a

"certain galleon, which miraculously escaped their (the buccaneers') industry, being very richly laden with all the King's plate, and great quantity of riches of gold, pearl, jewels and the most precious goods, of all the best and richest merchants of Panama."²

When all this is taken into account it may very well be that the sack of Panama was not as profitable as it had been anticipated. If the plunder was three times as

¹ *Esq.*, 189.

² *Esq.*, 226.

valuable as that of Porto Bello, it would amount to seven hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight. If that estimate is correct, then according to the agreed rate of division, two hundred pieces of eight to each of the one thousand eight hundred private adventurers were probably the right proportion. It was natural that the buccaneers should complain, and should accuse Morgan of "cheating". At the same time, it is only fair to point out that Morgan seems to have acted within his strict rights, that there is not a particle of evidence that he acted unfairly or dishonestly, and that large though his own share may have been, in comparison, it was the sum which he stipulated for before starting on the expedition, and which he had well earned by six months' hard toil, sleepless vigilance, and unflinching courage.

The charge of starving his men comes to still less than the other. No doubt the expeditionary force suffered many privations on the return journey, but it should be remembered that the whole country had been devastated by the Spaniards, who burned the towns and villages and carried away all they could. Yet, according to Browne, at least one thousand eight hundred men participated in the division of the spoil at Chagre, so that only about two hundred men perished in the expedition. Morgan seems to have departed from Chagre, accompanied by only ten out of the thirty-five ships. But, on Esquemeling's own showing, the fact can hardly be placed to Morgan's discredit. The expedition upon which they had embarked had been brought to a close, the spoils were divided, the body of adventurers was dissolved. Morgan was assailed with fierce abuse and insults by the French and some of the English buccaneers. Under such circumstances he was entitled to part company with them, and proceed to Jamaica with those who were still loyal to him.

Esquemeling brings other charges against Morgan, which cannot be easily passed over. The buccaneers at Panama, he says

“spared, in these their cruelties, no sex nor condition whatsoever. For as to religious persons and priests, they granted them less quarter than to others, unless they could produce a considerable sum of money, capable of being a sufficient ransom. Women themselves were no better used, and Captain Morgan, their leader and commander, gave them no good example in this point.”¹

He then goes on to relate the story of Morgan’s behaviour to a “beautiful and virtuous lady”. Even if the story be in all respects true—which the innumerable inaccuracies of the narrator in matters where his statements can be tested by independent evidence make one doubt—Morgan offered no violence to her, and the way in which he at last released her—on finding that she had been victimised by some of the buccaneers—is all to his credit. Esquemeling has deliberately set out to damage Morgan, and for that purpose he uses all the advocate’s art in order to heighten his charges. He brings no other specific accusation, though he would an he could, and therefore the testimony of Browne, prejudiced and envenomed as he was against Morgan, is entitled to great weight.

“The report from England is very high, and great deal worse than it was. What was done in fight and heat of blood in pursuit of a flying enemy, I presume is pardonable. As to their women, I know or ever heard of anything offered beyond their wills. Something I know was cruelly executed by Captain Collier, in killing a friar in the field after quarter given, but for the Admiral, he was noble enough to the vanquished enemy.”²

These words, it should be noted, were written in August 1671, when Sir Thomas Modyford was in disgrace, when

¹ *Esq.*, 229.

² *Cal. S. P.*, Aug. 21, 1671, No. 608.

Morgan was out of favour, and when Lynch and the "peace" party were triumphant. Anything that could be said to the discredit of the Panama expedition would have been doubly welcome at such a time. The fact that even Browne was constrained to bear witness to Morgan's magnanimity to "the vanquished enemy" is surely a circumstance which is entitled to outweigh the vague invectives of Esquemeling.

On August 22, 1671, Sir Thomas Lynch put his power into execution, and despatched Sir Thomas Modyford a prisoner to London on board a merchant vessel.¹ Morgan was not long to remain immune. By January 1672 Lynch had received orders to send the "hammer of the Spaniards" a prisoner to London to answer for his offences against the King, his crown, and dignity. Among the King's vessels in the Indies was the *Welcome*. "She is," said Sir Thomas Lynch, "an old vessel, and if taken in any distress of weather would be lost and all her men."² But she was good enough to send the conqueror of Panama on, a prisoner to London. She sailed from Port Royal on April 4, 1672, and arrived at Spithead on the following 4th of July.

¹ It is perhaps hardly worth while mentioning another inaccuracy of Esquemeling, but in order to demonstrate his habitual laxness, his account of Modyford's recall is worth giving. Morgan, he says, meant to start a Pirate State. "But he was soon hindered in the prosecution of this design by the arrival of a man-of-war from England. For this vessel brought orders from His Majesty of Great Britain to recall the Governor of Jamaica, there to give an account of his proceedings and behaviour with the Pirates whom he had maintained in those parts, to the huge detriment of the subjects of the King of Spain. To this purpose, the said man-of-war brought over also a new Governor of Jamaica, to supply the place of the preceding" (p. 257). But, as we have seen, Sir Thos. Lynch, the new Governor, had been in Jamaica since September 1670, and the orders to recall Modyford had come in January 1671.

² *Cal. S. P.*, July 2, 1671, No. 580.

“The two prisoners,” wrote Captain Keene to Lord Clifford, “are still on board, but very much tired with their long confinement, especially Colonel Morgan, who is very sickly.”¹

Morgan, like all men of strong and masterful character, had many foes and many friends. If Browne—whom Lynch, though no friend of Morgan, accused of perjury²—railed against him, there were many to intercede with the King on his behalf. On March 30, for instance, Major Banister writes from Jamaica to Lord Arlington that he knows not what approbation Admiral Morgan may find in England, but in Jamaica he received

“a very high and honourable applause for his noble service therein, both from Sir Thomas Modyford and the Council that commissioned him.”

He adds that he hopes he may say, without offence, that

“he is a very well-deserving person, and one of great courage and conduct, who may, with His Majesty’s pleasure, perform good public service at home, or be very advantageous to this island, if war should again break forth with the Spaniard.”

Soon after his arrival his kinsman, W. Morgan of Tredegar, wrote to intercede on his behalf to Sir Joseph Williamson :

“as he has had a very good character of him, and in the management of the late business in Panama he behaved with as much prudence, fidelity, and resolution as could reasonably be expected, and at his return his services were approved of by the then Governor and Council, and thanks ordered him, and all good men would be troubled if a person of his loyalty and consideration as to his Majesty’s affairs in those parts should fall for want of friends to assist him.”³

Friends Henry Morgan was never likely to lack. His blunt and manly carriage, his genial good fellowship, and

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, July 4, 1672.

² *Ib.*, March 30, 1672, No. 789.

³ *Ib.*, Aug. 1672.

his fame as a victorious adventurer, paved an easy way for him to exalted circles in London. He became a social "lion",¹ a favourite at Court,² and His Merry Majesty presented him with a snuff-box with the royal portrait set in diamonds.³ By January 23, 1674, we find that His Majesty had appointed Lord Carlisle Governor of Jamaica, and Colonel Morgan his deputy. On March 23 John Locke, the philosopher, in his capacity as Clerk to the Council of Trade and Plantations, delivered draft instructions to Colonel Morgan, and in the following June Colonel Henry Morgan was also appointed Lieut.-General of the forces, as well horse as foot, in Jamaica.

News of Morgan's favour at Court reached Jamaica, to the great scandal and disgust of Sir Thomas Lynch. He wrote to Williamson that the Spaniards were greatly increasing their armaments in the West Indies.

"One of their reasons . . . is the noise of Admiral Morgan's favour at Court and return to the West Indies, which much alarmed the Spaniards, and caused the King to be at vast charge in fortifying in the South Sea."⁴

By this time Lord Carlisle had found it impossible to accept the Governorship, which was offered to and accepted by Lord Vaughan. The new Governor and Lieutenant-Governor on January 8, 1675, weighed anchor in the Downs, with the intention of sailing together to their command. But fate or design willed otherwise. Morgan

¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, Sept. 21, 1674: "At the Lord Berkeley's I discovered with Sir Thos. Modyford, late Governor of Jamaica, Col. Morgan, who undertook that gallant exploite from Nombre de Dios to Panama."

² *Cal. S. P.*, Nov. 20, 1674, No. 623.

³ Long, in *Gentleman's Magazine*, February and March 1832, states that the portrait was at that date in the possession of a descendant of Lady Morgan's sister, Mrs. Byndlosse.

⁴ *Cal. S. P.*, Nov. 20, 1674.

—now Sir Henry Morgan—says that his anchor was so fast in the ground that Lord Vaughan “was got about the Foreland” before he could get away, and he never saw him afterwards. Lord Vaughan, a suspicious and difficult man, whose prim preciseness of manner ill accorded with the boisterous nature of his lieutenant and still less with his own scandalous character, gives a different version.

“In the Downs I gave him orders, in writing, to keep me company, and in no case to be separated from me but by distress of weather; however he, God knows by what fate, coveting to be here before me, wilfully lost me.”¹

Whatever may be the rights of the matter, it is certain that Sir Henry Morgan arrived in the West Indies before the Governor of Jamaica, and that on February 25, 1675, he ran ashore on the Isle of Vache (Vaca)—one of his old rendezvous—where “we had all perished, had I not known where I was”, says Morgan.²

In spite of this mishap, Morgan arrived early in March at Jamaica, and we may conjecture with what zest he ousted his old opponent, Sir Thomas Lynch, from the Lieutenant-Governorship on March 7. For a while he was in supreme command—a position which he greatly coveted and enjoyed. But in another week Lord Vaughan arrived, and Sir Henry was relegated to a secondary place. Dissensions soon broke out between the pragmatical Governor and his undisciplined Lieutenant. Lord Vaughan became very friendly with Sir Thomas Lynch,³ and we need not doubt that Sir Thomas gladly added fuel to the fire of his lordship’s wrath against his popular subordinate. As early

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, May 18, 1675, No. 566.

² *Ib.*, April 13, 1675, No. 521; *Hist. MSS. Com., Dartmouth Papers*, vol. i, p. 25.

³ *Cal. S. P.*, No. 566.

as May 18, 1675, Lord Vaughan sent home a querulous letter against Sir Henry condemning his

“particular ill conduct and wilful breach of his positive and written orders (in the Downs) and his behaviour and weakness since at the meeting of the Assembly, which with other follies have so tired me that I am perfectly weary of him, and I frankly tell you that I think it for His Majesty’s service he should be removed, and the charge of so useless an officer saved.”¹

He ends up by asking to be allowed to nominate his successor in the office of Governor, in case of his own sickness or death.

On September 20 still more complaints reach Williamson from Lord Vaughan. He wants to know what His Majesty thinks of Sir Henry Morgan’s “miscarriage”.

“I am every day more convinced of his imprudence and unfitness to have anything to do with the Civil Government, and of what hazards the Island may run by so dangerous a succession. Sir Henry has made himself and his authority so cheap at the Port, drinking and gaming at the taverns, that I intend to remove thither speedily myself for the reputation of the Island and the security of the place.”²

In December the prudent Williamson only writes to say that he regrets these misunderstandings, and ends by giving the significant hint, “it will be prudent to make them up the best that can be.”³

On February 26, 1676, Sir Henry writes one of his unfrequent letters to Williamson, regretting his inability to answer Williamson’s queries, “for the little share I have in the Government makes me incapable of giving any perfect account of the state of the Island which his Excellency has not as yet been pleased to give me leave to see.”⁴

By the end of the month the division between the

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, May 18, 1675, No. 566.

² *Ib.*, Sept. 20, 1675, No. 673.

³ *Ib.*, Dec. 6, 1675, No. 733.

⁴ *Ib.*, Feb. 2, 1676, No. 807.

Governor and his deputy was notorious, though the exact subject matter in dispute was unknown.¹ In May 1676 Lord Vaughan begins to formulate a more definite charge against Morgan. He complains

“of the great ingratitude and disingenuity of the same person in having written so many false and malicious stories of the Governor,”

and he accuses him further of conniving at privateering, and especially of his conduct in the matter of one privateer named Deane. He suspects that the old buccaneer, instead of carrying out Lord Vaughan's orders against the privateers, gave warning to his old friends.² On May 3 he writes to Lord Anglesea, the Lord Privy Seal,

“I detected him of most gross unfaithfulness in his trust, and a wilful breach and disobedience of my orders, only because they have obstructed his design of privateering. . . . Since the trial of Deane he has been so impudent and unfaithful at the taverns and in his own house”

He is roundly accused of returning to his old trade of privateering,

“and has, with his brother Byndlosse, encouraged the King's subjects to take French commissions, fitted them out to sea, and been concerned with them in their ships and prizes. I know his imprudence and weakness lead him a long way, but believe his necessities do more, which would prove of sad consequence to the Island if there should be any devolution of Government. . . . His brother Byndlosse agitates him in all he does, and I have therefore given him no authority or any civil or military commission. He is a turbulent fellow, some years since was surgeon of a ship, but can never be easy in any Government. It would be a good thing if the Governor had a private instruction to put him out of the Council.”³

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, Feb. 20, 1676, No. 823.

² *Ib.*, May 2, 1676, No. 912.

³ *Ib.*, May 3, 1676, No. 916.

Sir Henry Morgan was not the man to take such accusations "lying down". He was speedily justified in his conduct towards Deane. In July the Lords of Trade and Plantations condemned the trial of Deane, and ordered him to be released.¹ In the following November the Lords considered the charges made by Vaughan against Morgan and Byndlosse.

"If ever I err in one tittle," says bluff Sir Henry, "then let me ever be condemned for the greatest villain in the world."²

His unhappiness is that he serves a superior there that is jealous of all his actions, and put himself to study Sir Henry's ruin "for what reasons I know not". Sir Henry's secretary deposes to the innocence of his principal in the matter of communicating with the privateers.³

The investigation of the charges stretched over a lengthened period. Twelve months later, on October 28, 1677, the journal of the Lords of Trade and Plantations testified that their lordships "do not come to any resolution regarding Sir Henry Morgan and Byndlosse, until they have proceeded to a further examination of the whole matter".⁴ In the meantime Sir Thomas Lynch was busily intriguing and making mischief. Seven of the Councillors had backed Sir Henry against Lord Vaughan. It would be hazardous, says Sir Thomas, to remove all seven "who have affronted and dissented from Lord Vaughan", but the new Governor—who, he hoped, would be himself—"might have a dormant order to remove the principal, and make him incapable of all other employments and sitting in the Assembly". He goes on to say, in words almost identical with those already used by Lord Vaughan,

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, July 20, 1676, Nos. 993, 1,093.

² *Ib.*, Nov. 1676, No. 1,129 (4).

³ *Ib.*, No. 1,129 (15).

⁴ *Ib.*, Oct. 28, 1677, No. 461.

“The present Lieutenant-Governor is incapable of such a trust, he is governed by his brother-in-law, Colonel Byndlosse, “a very ill man”, against whom there were many complaints before the Council. Last Session he struck Lord Vaughan’s secretary, to justify which the Lieutenant-Governor and another brother-in-law challenged the Secretary.”¹

Sir Henry was too popular in the colony, and too high in royal favour at home, to be displaced by a jealous superior and a dispossessed rival. By the end of 1677 Lord Vaughan was recalled, and Lord Carlisle was once more appointed Governor. Almost immediately after his arrival in Jamaica, in July 1678, Lord Carlisle writes home in terms of high commendation of the “diligence” of the Lieutenant-Governor. Everything went smoothly for some years.² Sir Henry’s energies were fully employed in the work of Government. To the end of his term of office Lord Carlisle remained on terms of cordial friendship with his subordinate. His admiration for him breaks out in every letter. He loyally defends him against his enemies,³ and when he left for England in 1680, knowing Sir Henry’s “generous humour”, and fearing it would land him in beggary,⁴ he allowed him six hundred pounds per annum out of his own salary, in addition to the six hundred pounds which Sir Henry drew as Lieutenant-Governor.⁵

But though he was on cordial terms with the Governor, Sir Henry was not free from troubles. In February 1680 he condemned, as Judge-Admiral, a certain Captain Francis Mingham, “a very ill man”, for smuggling. Mingham appealed to the King in Council, and in April 1681 Morgan’s conduct was held to be unwarranted.⁶

¹ *Cal. S.P.*, No. 465.

² *Ib.*, July 31, 1678, No. 770.

³ *Ib.*, No. 1,302.

⁴ *Ib.*, April 18, 1681, No. 85.

⁵ *Ib.*, May 4, 1675, No. 537, at p. 217.

⁶ *Ib.*, Apr. 15, 1681, No. 77.

In the following June Sir Henry again came under the censure of the King's Council. Mr. Secretary Leoline Jenkins was ordered to prepare a letter to Sir Henry, bidding him to execute the pirates he had pardoned.¹ In the following September a still worse blow befell him, when his commission as Lieutenant-Governor and Lieutenant-General of Jamaica was revoked.² By this time his old rival and enemy, Sir Thomas Lynch, was on his way out to take up the duties of Governor. From this time forward Sir Henry's star waned. In October 1682 he demanded in vain the sum of five hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eightpence from the Council of Jamaica, which he averred was due as arrears of salary.³ In September 1683 he was guilty of a still worse offence.

Captain Mingham, whom Sir Thomas Lynch is constrained to call "a virulent, base-natured fellow", was still at Port Royal. Some squabble broke out between Mingham's first mate, a man named Flood, and a naval officer, Captain Churchill of the *Falcon*. Flood was ducked in the bay by Captain Churchill for his insolence. By mishap he fell sick of fever, and incontinently died. The people at Port Royal—with whom the name of Churchill, the friend and protégé of the Popish Duke of York was not popular—were greatly exasperated, and an inquest was ordered to be held on the body. Sir Henry was bidden to attend the inquest by the Governor. A long investigation took place, and the jury retired for seven hours before agreeing on a verdict that the deceased had died from fever and natural death. The rest of the story is succinctly told by the Governor:—

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, June 16, 1681, No. 144.

² *Ib.*, No. 192.

³ *Ib.*, Oct. 26, 1682, No. 758.

“As soon as the inquest was over, the foreman (one of the famous Forths, of London), and three others, came to me to complain that Sir Henry Morgan was in the house . . . that the evidence was transposed and not fairly taken, and that fifteen were impanelled and sworn, and three afterwards discharged.”¹

The populace was still further incensed at this development. The news was bruited abroad that Sir Henry Morgan, a member of the Council, had packed the jury and interfered with their verdict. A serious riot broke out at the Point, and a Mrs. Wellin deposed that she heard Sir Henry say one night, “God damn the Assembly”.² The Council was called together, and ten of the members assured the Governor of their loyalty.³ Colonel Byndlosse, however, was charged with disrespectful carriage towards the Council, in striking Thomas Marshall Martin and using provoking language, while discussing the late riot, towards Colonel Molesworth. He was tried by the Council, and without a dissentient voice he was suspended from his membership.⁴

Two days later Sir Henry was attacked. The question was put in the Council, “whether the passions and irregularities of Sir Henry Morgan did not disqualify him from continuing in his offices under the Government”. His friends did their best to save him, but in vain. The Governor nourished an old grudge against him, and he was wroth with him for forming a party of his own in opposition to the Government. The Government calls it a “little, drunken, silly party” of five or six, which met at a special club

“where, especially when the members are drunk, the dissenters are cursed and damned. The whole country was

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, Sept. 12, 1683, No. 1,249.

² *Ib.*, Oct. 3-9, 1683, No. 1,294.

³ *Ib.*, Oct. 9, 1683, No. 1,302.

⁴ *Ib.*, Oct. 9, 1683, No. 1,302.

provoked by their taking the name of the Loyal Club, and people began to take notice that it looked as if he hoped to be thought head of the Tories, consequently I must be of the Whigs."¹

The club, continued the irate Governor, as it had neither sense, money, nor sobriety, began to die, and the actors themselves grew afraid and ashamed of their parts, when the unlucky incident of Flood and Churchill occurred. The Loyal Club immediately took Churchill's part against the partisans of Flood, and accused the people of being "Duke-killing rogues". Sir Henry Morgan, Byndlosse, and Charles Morgan were at the head of this factious opposition, and on October 12, 1683, all three were finally deprived of their offices.² In February of the following year, the King in Council approved of the action of Sir Thomas Lynch. Charles Morgan, Sir Henry's brother-in-law, went to London, armed with depositions from Jamaica, to fight the battle of the Loyal Club; but on June 27, 1684, the King's Council, after hearing counsel on both sides, confirmed their previous decision, and Sir Henry and his friends were dismissed.³ In the following August Sir Thomas Lynch died, and the chances of the Morgans of restoration to favour and office brightened once more. On October 20, 1686, the Duke of Albemarle, the new Governor, included in his proposed list of the Council of Jamaica, the names of Sir Henry Morgan, his brother-in-law, Colonel Byndlosse, and his two devoted friends, Sir Francis Watson, and Colonel Ballard.⁴ In November the Duke formally proposed the restoration of Sir Henry, and on December 19, 1686, he wrote to the Lords of Trade and Plantations:—

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, Nov. 3, 1683, No. 1,348.

² *Ib.*, Febr. 29, 1684, No. 1,565.

³ *Ib.*, June 27, 1684, No. 1,777.

⁴ *Ib.*, Oct. 20, 1686, No. 920.

“I have written to tell you that the whole Council have asked me to recommend the re-admission of Sir Henry Morgan to the Council, which I earnestly do.”¹

For over a year more the home authorities remained obdurate, and it seemed as if the most famous man in Jamaica was permanently shut out from royal favour. In the summer of 1688 he was, however, restored to his seat in the Council, but it came too late. He was at the time ailing and known to be in a parlous state. In the following August he died, at the age of fifty-three, and was buried in St. Catherine's Church, Port Royal. His wife survived him for eight years, and when she died, in 1696, she was laid to rest at her husband's side in the island where she had dwelt for thirty-four years.

There are extant two engravings of Sir Henry Morgan, both of which seem to be genuine. They portray a broad, burly man, of an open countenance and a keen eye. It is the face of a man of action, of strong character, of masterful will and fierce energy. It is genial, though not weak: human, but full of decision. These portraits have often been reproduced. One of them was first published by F. H. van Hove, the other was prefixed to Esquemeling's *History of the Buccaneers* in 1684. Some have taken it for granted that Sir Hans Sloane (who was a member of the suite of the Duke of Albemarle) referred to the Buccaneer when he said, in his Introduction to his work on *The Productions of Jamaica* :

“Sir H. M., aged about 45, lean, sallow-coloured, his eyes a little yellowish, and belly a little jutting out or prominent, much given to drinking and sitting up late.”

But the description can hardly apply to Sir H. Morgan. So unheroic a figure could scarcely be even the wreck of

¹ *Cal. S. P.*, Dec. 19, 1686, No. 1567.

the bold adventurer. Sir Henry was at least fifty when Sir Hans Sloane first went to Jamaica, and unless his portraits are spurious, the description can hardly apply to him.

“I have seen,” says the author of the *New History of Jamaica*, published a century after Sir Henry’s death, “a curious picture of Sir Henry at length, and there appears something so awful and majestick in his countenance that I’m persuaded none can look upon it without a kind of veneration.”¹

This can scarcely be the same person as the grotesque little man, limned with such a subtly malicious pencil by Sir Hans Sloane. It is far more likely that the “Sir H. M.” of Sloane was Sir Hender Molesworth, who lived in Jamaica at the time, and died in 1689.

Henry Morgan the Buccaneer was no “plaster saint”. His weaknesses, his follies, his errors are writ large on his record. He was rash, impulsive, reckless of speech, and oftentimes unscrupulous in action. He was a good hater and a firm friend. To those who trusted him he was unswervingly loyal. He served Sir Thomas Modyford with singleness of mind, and in his fall he stuck to him manfully. His relations with Lord Carlisle were unclouded and did credit to both. In his will (dated Jan. 17, 1688, and proved Sept. 14, 1688) he remembered every favour done him, every service rendered to him. His memory has been badly served, because his enemies were powerful either at Court or with the pen. Esquemeling has done him a double service. He has raised him to the dizzy heights occupied by the villain of an Adelphi melodrama. He has invested him with the halo of romantic crime. Few know, or remember, or care to hear that Morgan’s greatest exploits—the capture of Porto Bello, of Maracaibo, and of Panama—were undertaken under commission from

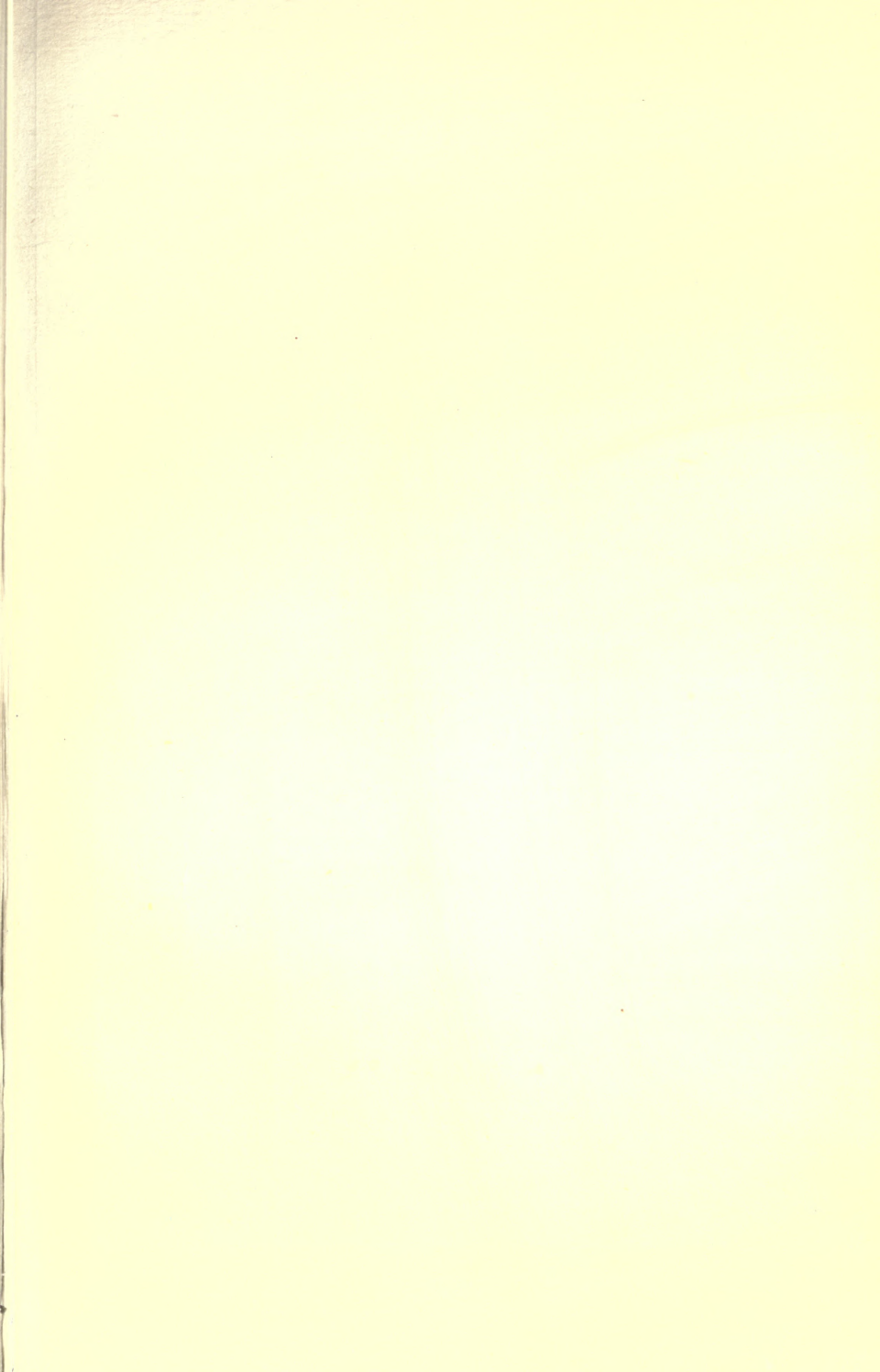
¹ *New History of Jamaica*, p. 159.

the Crown. Few regard him as anything but a pirate, and he has even been confounded with the Marooners and Blackbeards of a later age. Lord Vaughan and Sir Thomas Lynch between them destroyed his credit at home; but even here time has brought its revenges. The historian of Jamaica says that

“the memory of Lord Vaughan is very odious here, and they date their decline from his Government. They charge him with unbounded avarice, that he sold his own domestics, and laid intolerable imposts on all kinds of goods.”¹

But while the memory of Lord Vaughan, the fiscal reformer, was execrated in the colony which had once been under his rule, and the name of Lynch was forgotten, the fame of the Buccaneer was reckoned the chiefest glory and pride of the island. He is the one great man, the one figure of heroic proportions, in the history of Jamaica. The passions which he aroused in his lifetime have long been laid, and a fair estimate of the man and his work can be struck. When we consider his early training, or lack of training, his hard “apprenticeship” in the plantations of Barbadoes, his association with the desperate fortunes of the Buccaneers, and the absence for a long period of the refining influence of home, of civilisation, and of culture on his life, his later career becomes indeed amazing. The fact that he rose so conspicuously above his surroundings, and retained, after such a career, so many kindly and loveable qualities, shows that he was a man built on the grand scale. He was a born leader of men, a daring and resourceful captain, a capable and energetic administrator, who only erred when he had too little work to do, and he was withal a thoroughly human and engaging character.

¹ *New History of Jamaica*, p. 156.





J. P. D. D. D.

J. P. D. D. D.

THE CAMBRIAN SHAKESPEARE

Yan Gwir yn, Mann gwir. Awen :

Yr. Pwyd a lannodd ei Ben : J. H.

THOMAS EDWARDS O'R NANT, A'R
INTERLIWDIAU.¹

GAN

MR. ISAAC FOULKES (*LLYFRBRYF*).

YR ystyr gyffredin a roddir i'r gair *Interlude* yn y geiriaduron Seisnig, ydyw chwareuawd cydrhwng, neu i lanw bwlch; a dywedant mai o'r Lladin yr hana, sef, *inter* = *between*, a *ludus* = *a play*. Nid yw, meddir, yn air hên yn Saesneg; John Heywood, tua 1521 a'i defnyddiodd gyntaf yn rheolaidd, er y gwelir ef yn gynarach fel enw ar bob math o chwareuon, ac yn gynarach fyth ar y moeschwareuon, neu y *Morality Plays* fel eu gelwir.

Ond atolwg, beth oedd yr *Interlude* o ran ei natur? Etyb bron pob hanesydd y ddrama mai darlun cywir ydoedd, neu nifer o ddarluniau, o fywyd syml; cyfansoddiad garw, bâs, ac anghoeth o ran ansawdd; a byr o ran maint. Dysgai foesoldeb mewn dull ac iaith digon anfoesol yn fynych. Ni phroffesai fod yn ddigrifol nac yn addysgiadol, ond yr oedd yn dipyn o'r ddau. Portreadai y natur ddynol yn ei gwendid a'i gwaeledd—yn noeth lymun megys; dywedai y gwir hyll, y caswir, am ddyn neu am gymdeithas o ddynion na feiddiasid ei ddweyd o bulpud nac oddiar lwyfan gyffredin. Rhaid ini gydnabod eu bod, y goreuon ohonynt, yn Gymraeg cystal ag yn Saesneg, yn llygredig mewn manau, ond fel y llunia'r crydd y gwadn

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Thursday, the 21st of January, 1904. Chairman, the Rev. G. Hartwell-Jones, M.A., Rector of Nutfield.

fel bo'r troed, felly lluniai yr Interliwdwyr eu gwaith at chwaeth eu gwrandawyr a'u darllenwyr.

Oferedd fyddai i ni geisio profi pa bryd y daeth y math yma o lenyddiaeth i arferiad yn mysg cenedl y Cymry. Fe geir, beth bynag, yn mysg gwaith Taliesin a Llywarch Hên, yn y *Myfyrian Archaiology*, rai deuawdau a fwriadwyd yn ol pob golwg i'w hactio, megys yr ymgom rhwng Arthur a Gwenhwyfar ei wraig, a'r "Ymdidan" rhwng Myrddin Wyllt a Thaliesin. Yr oedd hyn, mae'n debyg, rywbryd yn y bumed neu'r chweched cant, pan nad oedd gan y Saeson lenyddiaeth o gwbl. Ganrifoedd wed'yn y dechreuwyd chwareu y "Chwareuon Crefyddol" yn Lloegr, ac yn ddiweddarach fyth yn Nghymru. Digwyddiadau a golygfeydd yn mywyd Gwardwr y Byd, oedd y *Passion Plays* fel eu gelwir gan y Saeson.

Daethant i fri yn Lloegr, cyn belled ag y gellir casglu, yn y bynthegefed ganrif. Y mae'r cyfansoddiad Seisnig hynaf hyd y gwyddis yn awr, yn perthyn i gyfnod Harri VI. Parhausant yn eu bri hyd yn mhell ar ol y Diwygiad Protestanaidd. Nid y Diwygiad hwnw ychwaith a'u lladdodd. Yr oedd amryw o'r diwygwyr yn ffafr y Ddrama a'r Interlude. Y mae'r gair i Luther ddweyd fod y chwareuon crefyddol hyn yn gwneud mwy o les na phregeth; a phriodolir un ddrama o leiaf i Hugo Grotius. Ond yr oedd yn wahanol yn Nghymru. Oherwydd y sylwadau breision a geid ynddynt yr oedd amryw o'r brodyr culion yn methu gweled y daioni arall oedd ynddynt; ac y mae y ddrama yn Nghymru wedi ei chilgwthio hyd yn hyn, er fod y wawr ar dori arni eto. Rai blynyddau yn ol bu cryn adrodd ar Ddadleuon John Roberts (*J. R.*) a beth oedd y dadleuon hyny ond math o ddrameuon crefyddol; a bu cwmni yn actio darnau o *Rhÿs Lewis*, gan dynu torfeydd lluosog ar eu holau. Diau hefyd y gellid drama-eiddio llawer o'r *Mabinogion*.

Mae'r enw yn dangos mai planigyn tramor oedd y math yma o chwareuawd yn Nghymru; mai o Loegr y daeth i Gymru, ac mai o Rufain, mwy na thebyg, y daeth i Loegr. Yn Nghymru plentyn drwg y *Passion Play* ydoedd; a'r ffurf olaf ar y chwareuon crefyddol yno ydoedd *Mari Lwyd*, yr hon a chwareuid yn y Deheudir mor agos atom a chanol y ganrif ddiweddaf, ac a ddesgrifir ini gan y Parch William Roberts (*Nefydd*) yn ei lyfr dyddorol *Crefydd yr Oesoedd Tywyll*. Nid oes le i gasglu ddarfod i *Mari Lwyd* gael fawr iawn o afael yn Ngogledd Cymru, nac yn wir ar y Deheubarth ychwaith ond Gwent a Morganwg a rhanau o Sir Gaerfyrddin. Y Saesneg am *Mari Lwyd* ydyw *Holy Mary*; a thra crefyddol o ran ei ansawdd oedd y chwareu hwn ar y dechreu. Rhoddir disgrifiad manwl ohono, gan Hone yn ei lyfr rhyfedd, *Ancient Mysteries described*. Ond yr oedd wedi dirywio yn fawr cyn ei dranc; a phan drengodd, rhoddodd ei le i chwareuon yn perthyn yn agosach i'r bobl.

Yn y Gogledd, *Dawnsio Ha'* oedd eu prif chwareu. Yr oedd hwn hefyd o'r un teulu a'r chwareuon eraill: a ffynodd, yn benaf yn siroedd Dinbych a Fflint tua chyhyd ag y parhaodd *Mari Lwyd* yn y Deheudir, neu yn mhell ar ol rhoi yr Interliwd i gadw.

Prif gyfansoddwyr Interlidwiau ydoedd John Cadwaladr o'r Bala, Dr. Lodwick Williams, Elis y Cowper, Dafydd Jones o Drefriw, Huw Jones o Langwm, Jonathan Huws o Langollen, William Roberts clochydd Llannor, ac amryw eraill llai enwog. Nid oes lawer yn nghynrychion y cynfeirdd hyn, ond ambell ergyd go darawiadol, a blodeuyn yma ac acw sydd yn ymddangos i ni yn yr oes gonsetlyd hon megys yn tyfu ar domen. Y garwaf oedd Elis y Cowper, yr hwn a fflangellwyd mor ddirugaredd gan Oronwy Owen. Cyfansoddodd Gwallter Mechain yn nechreu ei yrfa awenyddol "anterliwt" neu ddwy:

ychedig iawn o'r enciniad oedd arnynt, ac yn ffodus gwelodd ef nas gellid interliwdir onohaw, a newidiodd ei grefft. Thomas Edwards o'r Nant oedd y cyntaf, a'r unig un mewn gwirionedd, a roddodd fri ar yr Interliwd. Y mae gwaith y lleill wedi myn'd i ebargofiant naill ai ar ol ei argraffu, neu cyn cyrhaedd hyd yn nod yr oedran hwnw ar fywyd llenyddiaeth; a'r manau y ceir hwy erbyn hyn, os clywir am rywun yn ymofyn am danynt, ydyw yn Llyfrgell Caerdydd, neu yn nghasgliad Mr. Davies, Cwrtmawr, neu yn Macpela fawr llenyddiaeth yr oesau, y *British Museum*. Ond y mae gwaith Bardd y Nant yn aros; yn ystod y deugain mlynedd diweddf, cyhoeddwyd o leiaf chwech argraffiad ohono neu o ranau ohono. Yn mhellach nid oes yr un hen fardd Cymraeg, ac ond dau neu dri o feirdd newydd, y mae cymaint galwad am dano heddyw yn y farchnad lyfrau. Daeth y chwech argraffiad hyn allan o'r un wâsg; nis gallaf ddweyd i sicrwydd beth yw nifer yr argraffiadau a ddaeth o wasgoedd eraill.

Yn ystod y ddeunawfed ganrif, ni fyddai Dy'gwyl na Gwylmabsant yn gyflawn heb antarliwt, mwy nag y byddai ffair yn ffair yn y bedwaredd-ganrif-ar-bymtheg heb *show* pryfed gwylltion. Yr oedd rhif y chwareuwyr yn dybynu ar drefniad y chwareu; weithiau byddai gynifer a deuddeg yn cymeryd rhan, a phryd arall dim ond tri neu bedwar, gan wrth gwrs gynwys ffidler a thelyniwr. Byddai eu gwisg yn gweddu i'r caritor a gynrychiolent. Gwelais yn rhywle na fyddent yn arweddu ffug-wisgoedd o gwbl. Camgymeriad ydyw hyny. Un o anhawsderau eu dull o gyflwyno y chwareu yn gymhwys ydoedd darpar yr hyn a adwaenir fel *green-room*. Bu côt o frethyn glâs, botymau melynion, ac iddi goler fawr a chynffon hir, yn ein teulu ni am flynyddau, a'r traddodiad yn ei chylch ydoedd mai hen gôt Twm ydoedd, a wisgai pan yn chwareu rhan y Doctor yn *Pedair Colofn*

Gwladwriaeth. Ei diwedd fu i lygoden wneyd ei nyth yn un o'r pcedi; creodd hyny ragfarn yn ei herbyn, ac er mwyn heddwch, cymerodd fy nhad hi i wneyd bwgan-brain; daeth rhyw dramp heibio ac ai dygodd, gan adael ei gôt ei hun yn ei lle, ac ni welwyd y lleidr na'r lladrad byth wed'yn.

Mewn papyr dyddorol a ddarllenodd Mr. (yn awr Syr) Marchant Williams yn Nghymdeithas Genedlaethol Gymreig Lerpwl, flwyddyn neu ddwy yn ol, dyfyna o waith tramp llenyddol, o'r enw Joseph Cradock, yr hwn a gyhoeddwyd yn 1776, ac a gynwys ddesgrifad o'r chwareu antarliwt a welodd ef yn Ninas Mawddwy. Dyma ddywed:—

“The stage consisted of some boards fixed at the end of a barn; beneath it was the green-room, for it was a small inclosure made up of furze. The play that was acted was King Lear, but so mutilated and murdered, that I was told it had scarce any other resemblance to the play written by Shakespeare, than the name. It was not unentertaining to see three brawny ploughmen act the characters of Lear's daughters. . . . The two principal characters, which they never fail to introduce into every play, are those of the Fool and the Miser.”

Ac mewn cyfrol arall o waith yr un awdwr a gyhoeddwyd yn ddiweddarach, dywedir:—

“The theatre at Dinas Mawddwy is held in great repute. I had the pleasure to be present at one play which is here called Anterlute. . . . The piece was said to have been written by a celebrated Mr. Evan something, who lived at Bala, but from the actions, gestures and emblems, I conceived it to have been modelled from before Shakespeare's time.”

Barna Mr. Williams wrth y byddent yn arfer galw Twm o'r Nant yn ei ieuencyd yn Tomos Evans, mai ei waith ef welodd Cradock yn cael ei chwareu yn Mawddwy. Yr oedd Twm ar y pryd yn 34 mlwydd oed, ac yr oedd wedi gwneyd anterliwt dros ugain mlynedd cyn hyny.

Nid yn hollol yr un modd ag yn Mawddwy, a chymeryd hefyd fod desgrifiad Cradock o'r hyn a welodd yn gywir, y chwareuid yr antarliwd yn Nyffryn Clwyd. Clywais hên ffarmwr parchus o Lanbedr y Dyffryn yn dweyd iddo pan yn ieuane weled Twm o'r Nant a chwmmie yn chwareu anterliwt ar brydnawn Sul yn muarth y Plas Isa'. Yr oedd yno fagad mawr o bobl wedi hel yn nghyd o'r cwmpasoedd; a wagen wedi ei gosod o flaen drws yr ysgubor, a byrddau drosti, yr hyn atebai bwrpas chwareufwrdd neu lwyfan. Defnyddid yr ysgubor a'r cowlas fel *green-room* gan y chwareuwyr; yno yr ymwisgent, oddiyno y deuent allan i gyfarfod crechwen y dorf o edrychwyr, ac yno y dychwelent drachefn ar ol gorphen eu llith, i newid gwisg er cyfateb i'r cymeriad nesaf; canys byddai pob un, ebe'r hen wr, yn cymeryd mwy nag un caritor yn y chwareu. "Dull annuwiol iawn o dreulio'r Sabboth," medd rhywun! Ie'n ddiau, ond yr oedd yn welliant ar ymladd ceiliogod, baetio teirw, ac ymladdfeydd creulawn rhwng plwy a phlwy, a dyn a dyn.

Pan fyddai Bardd y Nant wedi syrthio i dlodi, trwy yr amrywiol anffodion a nodâ yn ei Hunan-Gofiant, troi at yr Antarliwt y byddai, yna myn'd hyd y wlad i'w chwareu, a bwriai yn fuan ei henflew. Cyfeiria at un o'r cwympiadau yn yr hanes a ddyry ohono ei hun yn y *Great*:—

"Ond ni waeth tewi, adref y daethum i o'r Deheubarth heb na cheffyl na gwagen; ac nid oedd genyf ddim i droi ato oddieithr gwneud Interlute; a hyny a wnaethum. Yn gyntaf, mi aethum i Aberhonddu, ac a brintiais Interlute, *Y Pedwar Pennaeth; sef Brenin, Ustus, Esgob a Hwsmon*, a dyfod at fy hen bartner (gyda'r gwaith o gario coed, wrth yr hwn mae'n debyg y dywedodd tan amgylchiadau neillduol yn hanes y ddau, 'os partners, partners') i chwareu hono a gwerthu fy llyfrau. . . . Ac yn ganlynol mi a wnaethum Interlute *Pleser a Gofid*, ac a chwaraesom hono; a thrachefn Interlute y'ngghylch *Tri Chryfion Byd; Tylodi, Cariad, ac Angeu*."

Ac fel hyn yr oedd yn gallu cadw ei hun, cynull arian a rhoi addysg fel *milliner* i'w ferch ganol yn Nghaer. Ond, a barnu oddiwrth sylw neu ddau o'i eiddo, gellid meddwl nad oedd yn credu fod cyfansoddi na chwareu antarliwd yn tueddbenu at ei wneud yn well mewn ystyr ysprydol.

A phwy oedd yr Arch-Intertidiwr Cymreig? Gan ei fod yn "nyffryndir hen ffrindiau" ers yn agos i gàn mlynedd, y mae hwn yn ofyniad digon naturiol. Y mae'n rhywbeth i'w goffadwriaeth fod ei oloeswyr yn teimlo digon o ddyddordeb yn ei waith gàn mlynedd ar ol ei farw, fel ag i ymholi yn ei gylch, tra enwau cynifer o'i gydoeswyr wedi diflanu "fel nifwl nos i fòl nant".

Ganwyd Thomas Edwards yn 1739, mewn ffermdy o'r enw Penparchell-Isaf plwyf Llanefydd, sir Ddinbych. Yr oedd ei fam yn hanu o Brysiaid Plas Iolyn, a'i dad o linach Iolo Goch, arglwydd Llechryd, a bardd Owen Glyndwr. Thomas oedd yr hynaf o ddeg o blant, a thyfodd rhai o'r deg, heblaw efe, i'w llawn oedran. Yr oedd iddo un brawd o'r enw Edward yn byw yn Llundain, ac yn llanw swydd lled bwysig tan y Llywodraeth; a theimlai Tomos ei hun yn ddigon moesol i'w gynghori a'i rybuddio o'i beryglon newn geiriau fel hyn:—

Oni newidi di, Nedi,
Eiddo'r d...l a fyddi di.

Symudodd y rhieni yn fuan o Benparchell i ffermdy bychan o'r enw Coed Siencyn, ac yna i'r Nant, yn mhlwyf Nantglyn, ond ar derfynau plwyf Henllan. Tua phum milldir o Ddinbych, ar y ffordd yr elych i Bentre Foelas, deuwch at hafn, neu nant fel y dywedir ffordd hono, ac ar lechwedd y nant gyferbyn a'r ffordd, y mae tri ffermdy, dau ohonynt yn dwyn yr enw Nant, ac yn y canol o'r tri ty hyny, sef y Nant Isaf, y treuliodd Tomos ei fywyd tra yn ymddadblygu o'r bachgenyn i'r llencyn.

Nid yr un ty sydd yn y Nant Isaf heddyw ag oedd yno

gant-a-thri-ugain o flynyddoedd yn ol. Tai darfodedig sydd yn y parthau hyny; y mae'n amheus a oes ty anedd yn holl blwyfi Nantglyn a Llansannan oedd ar eu traed ddau can mlynedd yn ol; ac y mae'r anedd lle preswyliai y bardd yn Nant Isaf a'i tho gwellt, a'i llyisiau pen tai, a'i chyrn simddeuau o goed, wedi ei hysgubo ymaith ers llawer dydd, a'i lle wedi ei gymeryd gan ffermdy gwyngalchog, golygus, yn torheulo ar yr allt laswerdd. Pan oedd y cyw interliwidiwr yn clegar ar hyd y llechwedd acw, odid fawr nad oedd yno wedd o ychain, neu hwyrach darw cryf, yn tynu'r aradr gerllaw, gan grafu tipyn ar wyneb y ddaear hesp a difaeth. Efallai hefyd y gwelech gâr llusg, hen ysgrubliad afrosgo, diolwyn, yn cerdded ar ei sodlau, ond yn ddiogelach o gryn dipyn na' i olynnyddion y drol neu'r wagen. Bychain a duon oedd y gwartheg, a hirflew a garw y ceffylau. A phe genym amser i fyn'd i'r ty, gwelem bobpeth yno lawn mor hên-ffasiwn ag oedd yr allanolion.

Yr oedd yr ysgol agosaf at y Nant yn Nantglyn, yn dair milldir o bellder, a'r ffordd ati yn arw a blin, ac ychydig bach o addysg gafodd y bardd. Yn wir casbeth rhieni fel rheol ydoedd rhoi dysg i'w plant; credent fod dysg yn eu hanghymwyso at enill eu bywioliaeth, yn eu dysgu i fod yn ddiog, ac yn ol tystiolaeth y bardd ei hun, y mae lle i gasglu nad oedd ei rieni yntau yn eithriad; canys dywed yn un o'i gywyddau:—

Byddai mam yn drwyngam dro,
Ran canwyll 'roedd rhine hono;
Fy nghuro'n fwy anghariad,
A baeddu'n hyll, byddai'n nhad.

Felly chwech wythnos o ysgol Nantglyn a gafodd y bachgen talentog, a hyny ar ddwywaith; a pythefnos wed'yn yn Ninbych yn dysgu Saesneg.

Ond nid yw athrylith yn disgwyl wrth addysg, nac yn llwyr ddibynu arni. Médd Thomas Edwards yn ei Hunan-

Gofiant; “mi a gyfansoddais lawer o gerddi, a dau lyfr Interlude cyn fy mod yn naw oed.” Fath rai oeddynt, nis gwyddis, ac ni chawn ganddo gymaint a'u teitlau. Yn fuan wed'yn, gwnaeth chwareuad arall, math o aralleiriad o *Briodas Ysprydol* John Bunyan: a chyn bod yn ddeuddeg oed, yr oedd wedi gorphen Interlude arall, a chlywodd ei dad a'i fam am dani, a mynent iddo ei llosgi, ond yn hytrach na hyny y bachgen a'i rhoes i'r prydydd Huw Jones o Langwm. Drachefn cyfansoddodd ddwy Interlude; un ar *Wahanglwyf Naaman*, a'r llall ar *Hypocrisia*, at wasanaeth llanciau o blwyfi cyfagos; a thestynau dwy eraill o'i chwareuawdiau bore oedd *Jane Shore* a *Cain ac Abel*, ar gyfer pedwar o chwareuwyr. Ymunodd yr awdwr i wneud un o'r pedwarawd. Yna daw yr ymadrodd a ganlyn, yr hwn a ddyfynwn am y teifi oleuni ar un agwedd ddyddorol yn nghymeriad y bardd:—

“Ar ol hyny daeth euogrydd cydwybod, ac hefyd am fy mod yn caru merch ag oedd yn tueddu at grefydd. Wrth i mi ddyfod o le a elwir y Roe Wen, gerllaw Talycafn, mi a deflais y cap cybydd tros ochr yr ysgraff i afon Gonwy. Ac yn bedwar-ar-hugain oed, mi a briodais fy ngwraig ar y 19eg o Chwefror, yn y flwyddyn 1763. A merch ini a anwyd yn yr un flwyddyn, Rhagfyr 26ain.”

Fe welir oddiwrth hyn mai dyn moesol dros ben oedd Bardd y Nant, a'i fod yn awyddus i bawb wybod hyny!

Y mae saith o Interliwdiau Bardd y Nant ar gael; efallai ragor, ond dyna'r nifer yn y Casgliad diweddaf o'i waith, sef,

(1.) *Tri Chryfion Byd, sef, Cariad, Tylodi ac Angeu.* Ei phrif gymeriadau ydynt, *Y Traethydd, Tom Tell Truth, y Widdanes Tlodi, Rhinallt Arianog* y Cybydd, *Lowri Lew* ei fam, *Ifan Offeiriad* ei frawd, *Cariad* ac *Angeu*. Hen greadures erchyll o fydol oedd Lowri, a gadawyd hi yn weddw gyda dau fachgen, sef Rhinallt gybyddlyd o'r un ddelw a'i fam, ac Ifan yr hwn a ddygwyd i fynu yn

offeiriad, ac a briododd Saesnes. Hi aeth yn ffræ enbyd rhwng Rhinallt a Lowri am ei bod hi yn rhoi gormod o ffafrau i'w frawd, a symudodd yr hen wraig oddiwrtho i fyw at ei mab parchedig, lle y bu hi farw, gan wneud yn ei hewyllys ei holl eiddo i Ifan. Dygir y newydd am ei marwolaeth i Rinallt gan Tom Tell Truth pryd y cymer ymgom le rhyngddynt yn yr hon y darlunir Lowri Lew yn finiog fel y canlyn :—

Gwrandewch ar alarnad, neu farnad a fernir,
 Oer larwm am Lowri, mewn cyni ddatcenir,
 Hen wreigan rywiogaidd wych agwedd i'w chegin,
 Fu'n cadw ei mab Rinallt cyn laned a brenin,

* * * *

Gwraig daclus, foddus, fuddiol,
 A drwsiai glosau'n glysol,
 Gwnae sanau yn gysonol, a nyddai lin olynol,
 A chribai'n bleidiol wlan a blew,
 O newydd iddi Lowri lew.
 Hi weithiai'r nos wyth awr neu naw,
 Hi godai'r boreu i 'mgydio a'r baw ;
 Ni fu â llaw a'r gosyn mwy hollawl am ei henllyn,
 Hi driniau laeth ag undyn.
 A holltai 'n fanwl fenyw
 A gadwai flwyddyn gyda'i flew ;
 O newydd iddi, Lowri Lew,
 Maen chwith i'r 'nifeilied ; mewn dwned am dani,
 leir, hwyaid, gwyddau a moch sydd yn gwaeddi ;
 Ar lloiau bach anwyl sy'n drwm eu hochened
 A phrin iawn y pora pob buwch nesa'r pared.
 Ac mae'r ceffylau mewn coffâd,
 A'r ychain oll yn chwerw eu nâd,
 A'u brefiad yn abl brifo'r calonau clau a'u clywo,
 Trem galar trwm ac wylo, wna i gŵn a chathod chwitho,
 Wrth aruthr deimlo'r anrhaith dew,
 A gaed yleni am Lowri Lew.
 Hi aeth i'r nefoedd am wn i,
 Ac onide, gwae i'w henaid hi,
 'N iach iddi wedi'n wydyn,
 Fyth unwaith gael llaeth enwyn,
 Na dwr i oeri ei duryn, os aeth i gôl y gelyn,
 A'i chorph yn rholyn fel y rhew ;
 Ffarwel am dani Lowri Lew !

(2.) "*Cynadledd Ymresymeg rhwng Pleser a Gofid.*" Y prif gymeriadau yn yr Interlude hon ydynt, *Mr. Pleser, Mr. Gofid, Traethydd, Rowndol Roundun y Cybydd, Sian Ddefosionol ei wraig, Madam Rhagluniaeth, Mr. Rheswm Natur, Madam Bodlondeb, Anti Sal o'r Sowth*, y ddewines. Yn y chwareuawd y mae ymgom ddigrifol dros ben cydrhwng Rondol y Cybydd a'i briod sych-dduwiol Sian Ddefosionol ond mae'n rhy faith i'w doddi i mewn yn y fan hon.

(3.) "*Cybydd-dod ac Oferedd*", ydyw yr antarliwt nesaf yn nghasgliad 1889 (Lerpwl). Ni chrybwyllir ei henw ymysg chwareuon ei ieuenctyd, a chredwn mai gwaith blynyddoedd diweddaf y bardd ydoedd, gan y cyfeirir ynddi at ddigwyddiadau a gymerodd le pan oedd efe ei hun mewn oedran. Y mae hefyd yn fwy mesuredig a dôf na'i chwirydd. Nid oes sicrwydd iddi ymddangos trwy y wâsg cyn 1870, pan y cafwyd hi mewn llawysgrif yn Lerpwl, ac yr argraffwyd hi yn ystod y flwyddyn hono. Y mae hanes y modd y caed hyd i'r *manuscript*, a'r modd y collwyd ef wed'yn, yn mysg helwriaethau mwyaf dyddorol llenyddiaeth. Ychydig ydyw nifer y cymeriadau sydd yn yr anterliwt hon; *Tafarnwr, Cybydd-dod, Oferedd, Alis'ch Elwa* gwraig y Cybydd, *Nimble Dick* mab y Cybydd, *Arghwyddes Chwantau Natur*, a *Cariad*. Nodweddion athrylith wedi blino sydd i'w ganfod yn amlwg yn Interlude, "*Cybydd-dod ac Oferedd*".

(4.) "*Y Farddoneg Fabilonaidd: neu Weledigaeth Cwrs y Byd.*" Y mae hon wedi ei sylfaenu i raddau mwy neu lai ar y *Bardd Cwsg*. Ei chymeriadau ydynt y *Traethydd, Syr Caswir, Bardd, Balchder, Pleser, Elw, Sion Llygad-y-geiniog, Gwallco* mab y Cybydd, *Zidi Drwsiadus* gwraig Gwallco, *Gwas y Person, Rhagrith, Offeiriad Pabaidd, Gwas y Bragwr*, a *Beili*. Ystyrir yr antarliwt hon y fwyaf aflednais o'r cyfan, ond y mae ynddi hefyd ranau godidog, lawn cystal a dim a gyfansoddodd yr

awdwr. Deuawd led ddyddan ydyw hono rhwng Gwas y Person a Sion Llygad-y-geiniog, ynghylch talu degwm, a dyledswydd yr offeiriad sydd yn ei dderbyn.

(5.) "*Bannau y Byd, neu Greglais o Grogloff, goruwch magwrydd y Ddinas Ddihenydd; sef ychydig sylwadau ar Gwrs y Byd a'r llygredigaeth sydd ynddo.*" Gwelir mai yr un testyn sydd i hon ag i'r *Farddoneg Fabilonaidd*. Nid hawdd credu iddi erioed gael ei hactio; y mae yn rhy undonog ac ar fesur hwydrwm a musgrell. Dyma ychydig linellau er dangos y mesur, a natur y cyfansoddiad:

Mi es ymlaen at rhyw dy, lle'r oedd gwr, gwraig a theulu,
A pharsel o hogiau ar y llawr yn chwareu,
A phlant rhyw gymydog oedd a rheiny yn rhanog,
A rhwng y rhai hyny hi aeth yn gwerylu;
A'r gwr yn y gornel yn swcro'r ymrafel
Ac yn tyngu yn filen, Diawl! dyna i chwi fachgen,
Mae hwn y'mhob triniad yn debyg i'w dad!

Anhawdd credu, meddwn, y gallasai bagad o bobl wrando am awr neu ddwy ar ddau yn cynadleddu fel hyn. Deuawd, neu yngom rhwng dau, dan yr enw Bardd a Gwirionedd ydyw'r deryn ar ei hyd.

(6.) "*Y Ddau Ben Ymdrechgar, sef Cyfoeth a Thyloidi,*" a dyma'r cymeriadau, *Iemwnt Wamal y Ffwl, Hywel Dordyn y Cybydd, ac Esther Wastad* ei wraig, *Capteniaid Cyfoeth a Thyloidi, Diogyn Trwstan, Lowri Dlawd, a Mr. Angau*. Cynwysa'r chwareu hwn ranau cystal a dim a gyfansoddodd Bardd y Nant. Cymeriad wedi ei bortreadu yn gelfydd ydyw Hywel Dordyn. Dyn bydol, caled, didostur ydyw Hywel, ac y mae Esther os yr un, yn waeth nag yntau tan ei thrwch tew o ragrith a ffalsedd. Gwrandewch ar Hywel yn son am y farchnad pan oedd *protection* mewn bri, a'r ffarmwr yn cael y pris a ofynai am yr yd:

'Roedd yn hyfryd gan fy nghalon,
Pan oedd yr yde yn ddrudion,
Eu gwel'd yn ymwithio ac yn rheibio i'r rhes,
'Roedd hyny ar fy lles i'n burion.

Pe daliase hi beth yn rhagor,
 Mi wnaethwn i fusnes propor :
 Cael pumtheg swllt am hobed o haidd,
 Cyn imi braidd mo'i agor.

Cael ynte 'Nhrefynon yn hoff heini,
 Am yr hobed gwenith, bunt neu gini ;
 A pheder-ar-ddeg y phioled am frithyd mân,
 Ond hi ymgrogodd yn lân eleni.

Ni ches i yn Ninbych am frithyd odieth,
 Ond peder a dime gan ryw gydymeth ;
 A bod gyda hyny ar fy ngore glas
 Yn ei stwffio fo i'r siabas diffeth.

* * *

Mi gadwaf flawd ac yde
 Hyd loffydd ac mewn cistie,
 Tan obeithio 'n ddigon siwr,
 Gael myn'd. ag e i'r Dwr yn dyre.

* * *

Mae genyf fi wenith gartre',
 Pe cawn i bris am plesie ;
 Mi werthwn drichant, ni fyddwn dro,
 Neu bedwar o hobeidie.

Mae genyf ynte haidd ddigonedd,
 Mi werthwn i'w fragu beth difregedd ;
 Ond hi aeth eleni, gwae fi o'm byd,
 Yn llawnach o yd na'r llynedd.

* * *

(7). “*Pedair Colofn Gwladwriaeth, sef Brenin i Ryfela, Ustus i Gyfreithio, Esgob i Efengylu, Hwsmon i Drefnu lluniaeth.*” Hwn yn ddiau ydyw'r cyfanwaith goreu fel Interlude yn y Gymraeg. Ei chymeriadau ydynt *Rhês y Geiriau Duon, Brenin, Arthur Drafferthus* y Cybydd, *Gwenhwyfar Ddiog, Doctor, Madam Duwioldeb, Crefydd ac Angau.*

Fe welir mai cybyddion sydd yn cael y sylw penaf gan y “Cambrian Shakespeare”, chwedl y coegion yspeitlyd ; sef *Rhinallt Arianog, Rondol Rowndun, y Cybydd* yn “*Cybyddod ac Ofereidd*”, *Sion Llygad-y-geiniog*, ac *Arthur Drafferthus.*

Pe buasai Thomas Edwards wedi efrydu ei gymeriadau eraill mor drylwyr, a'u portreadu mor gywir ag y darfu y ganghen hon o ddynoliaeth syrthiedig, gallesid ei ddyrchafu i blith dosbarth uwch o feirdd. Ond gyda hwy y dechreuodd, a chyda hwy yr arosodd; ac ychydig iawn ydyw'r gwahaniaeth hefyd sydd ganddo rhwng y naill gybydd a'r llall. Efallai nad allasai Bardd Avon ei hun, ddarlunio cybydd yn well nag y gwnai Bardd y Nant; ond yr oedd ei gymeriadau ef yn aneirif bron. Yr oedd Twm yn fardd natur, ac yn canu ar gyfer ei oes a'i genhedlaeth. Pe canasai yn goeth fel y darfu Shakespeare, ni ddeallasid ef gan ei gydwladwyr. Cydoesai beirdd Cymreig penigamp ag ef y rhai a ganent yn orchestol, eithr beirdd i feirdd ac i uchelwyr llenyddol oeddynt hwy; ond efengylu i'r werin yr oedd Bardd y Nant, yn siarad yn eu hiaith, a thrwy eu cymhariaethau syml eu hunain.

Gadawsom dreigliad ei fywyd pan yr oedd newydd briodi. Cymerodd y ddefod dda hono le yn Llanfair Talhaiarn, a'r bardd enwog Ieuan Brydydd Hir yn ei gweinyddu, ynghyda Sion Powell, Rhydeirin, Dafydd Sion Pirs, a beirdd eraill y Llan yn bresenol, ac yn helpu i gadw'r neithior. Arferai Talhaiarn ofidio llawer na fuasai fyw y pryd hwnw, i fwynhau yspeddach y beirdd doniol. Bu y ddau—Thomas Edwards a'i wraig—fyw yn bur gytun, a chawsant oes faith. Bu iddynt dair o ferched; yr hynaf a briododd Dr. Arthur Jones o Fangor, ac a fu farw yn ieuanc, yr ail oedd y fwyaf talentog a ffefryn ei thad.

Cadw gweddoedd i gario coed y bu y bardd y rhan fwyaf o'i oes, a chyflawnodd wrhydri gyda'r gwaith; a phan ddaeth y grefft hono yn anfuddiol trôdd i feddyginiaethu simddeiau myglyd, a rhoi ysprydion i lawr. Yr oedd hefyd yn arfer tori ar geryg beddau. Ceir enghraifft yn y ffordd olaf, yn y gareg sydd ar ei fedd yn mynwent Eglwys Wen ger Dinbych. Yr oedd wedi dechreu tori ar feddfaen

rhywun arall, a myn'd cyn belled a'r geiriau "Llyma y claddwyd" pan y cymerwyd ef yn wael o'r clefyd y bu farw ohono, a'r gareg hono sydd yn awr ar ei fedd yntau. Cafodd lawer o helbulon, rhai ohonynt a dynodd arno ei hun, eraill a ddarparwyd iddo fel y barnai ef ei hunan, pan y dywedai fod gan Ragluniaeth "dwrnel yno i bobi iddo fara lefeinllyd". Gwir iawn ydyw un englyn yn ei feddargraff, a chyda hwnw y terfynwn. Dyma fe :—

Geirda roi i gywirdeb—yn benaf
 Ni dderbyniai wyneb,
 A rho'i sen i drawsineb,
 A'i ganiad yn anad neb.

ISAAC FOULKES (*Llyfrbryf*) : IN MEMORIAM.

Isaac Foulkes, the writer of the foregoing paper, better known to his compatriots under his Eisteddfodic title, *Y Llyfrbryf* (the Bookworm), died before seeing his contribution through the press. The Cymmrodorion Society is indebted to him for several papers of special interest, notably for his "appreciation" of *Ceiriog*, the greatest of modern Welsh lyric poets; his criticism and his defence of *Talhaiarn*; his collection of folk stories from the Vale of Clwyd; and his reminiscences of old Welsh printers, publishers and booksellers. Mr. Foulkes was himself a printer, and a seller, as well as a maker, of books. Wales is indebted to him for a long series of useful and valuable publications, including cheap editions of the Welsh poets from the days of *Dafydd ab Gwilym* to those of *Elfed*, and reprints of many scarce books, including the *Mabinogion*, the *Iolo Manuscripts*, and the *Royal Tribes of Wales*. To his own pen we are indebted for *Cymru Fu*, an excellent collection

of the traditional tales of the Principality; *Rheinallt ab Gruffydd*, a Welsh romance of considerable merit; the Biographies of *Ceiriog* the poet, and Daniel Owen the novelist, and other popular works. His *Welsh Biographical Dictionary*, published some thirty years ago, is the best yet obtainable. At the time of his death he was engaged upon a new edition of *Dafydd ab Gwilym*, from the Morrisian copy in the British Museum, and he was preparing a Biography of the two noted brothers, the Rev. Henry Rees and the Rev. William Rees (*Gwilym Hiraethog*). In 1891 he started *Y Cymro*, as a Welsh literary newspaper, and until his death enriched its pages with some of his best work. As a publisher, he brought out *The Cefn Coch MSS.*, containing many of the *Cywyddau* of Tomos Rhys, of Plas Iolyn, Rhys Cain, William Llyn, Sion Tudur, Dafydd Nannor, and other bards, under the editorship of the Rev. John Fisher, B.D., the *Registers of the Parish of Llansannan*, edited by the Rev. Robert Ellis, LL.D. (*R. ap Cynddelw*), and published at the expense of Mr. John Morris, of Liverpool, as well as other works of literary and antiquarian interest. Mr. Foulkes was born in the Parish of Llan Fwrog, on the 9th November 1836; he spent fifty years of his life in Liverpool, and he died on the 2nd of November 1904, at Cilgwyn in his native Vale. To him, upon his death, Principal Rhys applied in appreciation the lines of Dafydd ab Gwilym after his uncle and master Llywelyn; and with those lines this note may fittingly close.

Doe wywdymp yn dywedud
Hyddawn fodd, a heddyw'n fud!

Gwae fi geli bob golud,
Gwael fy nghyflwr am wr mud!

Pob meistrolrwydd a wyddud,
Poenwyd fi er pan wyd fud!

Nid diboen na'm atebud,
Nid hawdd ymadrawd a mud!

VINCENT EVANS.

PROLEGOMENA TO THE STUDY OF OLD WELSH POETRY.¹

By PROFESSOR E. ANWYL, M.A.

It will probably be readily admitted by those acquainted with Celtic studies that the most difficult subject in the sphere of Welsh literature is the critical interpretation and translation of the oldest Welsh poetry, and this is a problem of interest not only to Welshmen, but to a wider circle, as part of the larger question of the origins of the vernacular literature of Western Europe. The difficulty referred to is due in no small degree to the obsolete character of the vocabulary, but it is also due to the difficulty of correcting the text on the one hand, and that of classifying and interpreting the allusions to persons and places on the other. Much work has been done by students of Celtic in these various directions, but, in the absence of some short introductory treatment, the novice often fails to appreciate the problems for solution, and the significance of the various scattered pieces of research that are intended as answers to them. Further, the progress of these studies has been hampered in the past by an inadequate study of the historical grammar of the Welsh language, and of the peculiarities of the earlier syntactical constructions as distinguished from those of later times. The great work of Zeuss, though of abiding value, needs supplementing, especially on the poetical side of old Welsh grammar.

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, 23rd of March, 1904. Chairman, David Davies, Esq., of Plas Dinam.

The present writer has given a preliminary statistical account of several of the older verbal forms in an Appendix to *Welshmen*, by the Rev. T. Stephens, but it would be well if all the grammatical forms could be similarly tabulated. Another important line of research which is indispensable to the elucidation of the older poetry, is a close study of the older prose remains of Welsh in order to determine, if possible, their structure, literary affinities, and topographical relations. The present writer has also contributed a preliminary discussion of some of these points, especially in relation to the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi", to the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*. The present paper is a development of the same study, and is the outcome of a consideration of the inter-relations of the oldest prose and poetic writings of the Welsh people.

In dealing with these subjects, again, it has to be borne in mind that, whatever may be the origins of these forms of literature, they come to us in what may be termed a mediæval dress. Just as the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi" in their present form reflect the ideas of the Feudal System, so, too, many of the poems attributed to Taliessin and others reflect the monastic studies of the Middle Ages. Hence, in order to elucidate them, it is not necessary merely to guess at the underlying fragments of ancient mythology and legend, but also to study the medium through which these are presented. It is necessary, also, to form some idea of that conception of poetry and of the poet which made them possible. Celtic studies are here in special need of correlation on the literary side with researches into the origins and early developments of the other literatures of Western Europe.

Again, apart from the comparison of Irish and Welsh literature, it is important that, as far as possible, the various stories commonly called "Mabinogion", the older

body of poetry, Gildas, the chronicle called "Nennius" in its various recensions, the lives of the Welsh saints, and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, should be studied together. Along with these should also be closely investigated the oldest genealogies. These investigations may give us a clue to the families from whose spheres of influence portions of the older literature emanated, the districts where they were originally evolved, or to which they were transferred, and the probable literary centres of the ancient Welsh. Already very valuable and suggestive work in this direction has been done by Professor Zimmer in his *Nennius Vindicatus*, whereby he has brought into view the probable existence of old British or Welsh centres of literary activity in the North at Dumbarton or Carlisle, in Gwynedd, and in the Builth district.

In dealing with the old stories and old poems of Wales it is important to discover, wherever possible, the motives that appear to have led to their formation and development. It is from this point of view that the genealogies deserve careful study, in order to see what compositions may conceivably owe their origin to family or ecclesiastical pride. In the elucidation of the old genealogies a great debt of gratitude is due especially to Mr. Egerton Phillimore and Mr. Anscombe. A single name may at times prove an invaluable clue in these intricate and delicate researches.

The body of Welsh poetry here dealt with is commonly known as that of "The Four Ancient Books of Wales", being *The Black Book of Carmarthen*, *The Book of Aneirin*, *The Book of Taliessin*, and *The Red Book of Hergest*. The inter-relations of most of the poems contained in Skene's edition are sufficiently clear to reveal the fact that they represent in many respects a common tradition; nor does it require much research to show that, within the collection

as a whole, there are various strata, which may often be distinguished with respect to their place of origin and their time of composition. The historical allusions, for example, of the "Hoianau" poem (contained in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*) make it clear that it belongs to the twelfth century; while the orthography of "Gorchan Maelderw" in the *Book of Aneirin* makes it quite clear that that poem, together with the analogous parts of the "Gododin", is earlier, at any rate, than the *Book of Llandav*. Again, the occasional lapses into an older mode of spelling, as in Poem xxiii of the *Book of Taliessin*, called "Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn m. Brochwel Ysgythrog", where we have trefbret for trefret, pypm6nt for pymh6nt, dymet for dyuet, suggest that the poem was copied from a manuscript in which the spelling was uniformly of an older type. Again, the reference in l. 885 of the "Gododin" to the death of Dyvynwal Vrych (Donald Brec), who died in 642, shows that the line, at any rate in the form there found, is subsequent to that date. Similarly, in l. 934 of the same poem, the reference to Gynt (=gentes, *i.e.* the Scandinavians) shows that, at least in that form, the line is subsequent to the Scandinavian incursions. We know, too, from the existence of a verse of the same series in an eleventh century MS. of St. Augustine's "De Trinitate", which is in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, that verses of this same series of stanzas were known at that time. We have another instance in the *Book of Taliessin*. Even if we had no other reasons for forming that opinion, the existence of a reference to Bede in poem xvi, l. 38, would be a proof that the poem containing the reference was later than his time, that is, unless the line or the reference was interpolated. Again reverting to the "Gododin", the references to Elfin (l. 376) and to Beli (in l. 385) make it suspicious that they refer by an anachronism to Elfin,

King of Alclud (Dumbarton), who died in 722 A.D., and to Beli his son. If this be so, then the other verses in praise of Eithynyn, such as those beginning "Kywyrein ketwyr kywrennin" and those of corresponding characteristics, must have been written, at least, during the lifetime of Beli, the son. Moreover, it is obvious from the rhyme alone that all the old poems were composed after the old declensional and conjugational endings had been entirely lost.

If, again, we consider topographical allusions, we note that the numerous references to places in Powys and the neighbouring parts of England in the so-called "Llywarch Hen" poems, make it highly probable that we have here a body of poetry which, in its nucleus and its imitators, flourished in the literary centres of Powys. A few allusions, such as those to Llyn Geirionydd, Nant Ffrancon, and Dyganhwy, in some of the Taliessin poems, create a presumption that the poet who wrote them was not unconnected either with the court of Gwynedd or with some Carnarvonshire or Anglesey monastery. We are tempted also to suspect that the body of old poetry, which forms the nucleus of the *Book of Taliessin* and the similar poetry of the *Book of Aneirin*, was either itself preserved in Dyganhwy, Bangor Deiniol, Bangor Seiriol, or Clynnog, or was based on some annals, containing references to events in the North, which we do not now fully possess. The reference in the Welsh Laws to the preservation of "Breiniau Gwyr Arfon" by Bangor Deiniol and Bangor Beuno makes it not improbable that, in these and kindred monasteries, there were preserved brief annals and records, which afforded material to the bards and monks. There is extant in the Welsh Laws an interesting specimen of such a record, giving an account of the relations between the men of Arfon and the men of Strathelyde in the time

of Rhun, son of Maelgwn Gwynedd. These brief annals were probably in close relation to the genealogies of the ruling families, and these families in the Cunedda districts, as well as those of other "men of the North", may in some cases, owing to intermarriage, have comprised the names of some of the earlier inhabitants.

Professor Zimmer has suggested in his *Nennius Vindictatus* that in the original work of Nennius and in the North Wales recension, older annals from the North have played a part, notably in the account of the struggles between the Britons of the North and the men of Deira and Bernicia; it is highly probable, too, that chronicles of similar type have supplied the personal and local names which have been incorporated in the poems of the *Four Ancient Books*. As we shall see presently, these poems are not merely historical in character: they are an attempt at artistic treatment of historical themes which would be of special interest to certain Welsh families.

It is probably in brief annals such as these, too, combined with oral narrative, that we are to look for the materials which have been combined into the form of triads. These triads have obvious points of contact with the old poetry on the one hand, and with the prose narratives on the other. These chronicles need not by any means have belonged in all cases to the North; some of them may equally well have been evolved in the courts or in the leading monasteries of Gwynedd, Powys, Gwent, and Dyfed, or even in the smaller territories of local dynasties. It is not improbable, too, that the pedigrees and the chronicles associated with them were the channels through which the names of ancient gods and goddesses, from whom certain families claimed descent, passed into later legend in association with historical names, as we find them for example in the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi."

The identification of the Northern localities of the old poetry has been ably prosecuted by Mr. Skene, Mr. Egerton Phillimore and others, but many names are still unidentified. Nor do Mr. Skene's identifications in all cases carry conviction. In spite of his valuable service in bringing into prominence the Northern local background of many of the poems, he has often been too hasty in identifying place-names owing to a superficial similarity of sound. The great merit of his work consists in the fact that it enables us to realise dimly how long the descendants of "Gwyr y Gogledd" regarded themselves, while in Wales and of Wales, as belonging to a larger Wales and to Britain as a whole, regarded not in mere isolation but as a part of the civilised world of the Roman Empire. It was probably this underlying and unsuppressed imperial instinct that made them dwell with evident delight on such imperial figures as Maccsen, Helen, and Arthur. The Welsh narratives scarcely ever confine the scenes of the exploits of their secular or ecclesiastical heroes to Wales, and the Welsh ruling families long regarded themselves as the survivors of Roman civilisation. The after-glow of the Roman Empire long lingered in Britain. Evidence of the impression which Rome and the Latin tongue had made on Wales is afforded, not only by the number and quality of Latin words in Welsh, by the frequency of Latin names, but also by the attempts of Welshmen in remote corners of Wales to write the inscriptions of tomb-stones in Latin, in spite of their manifest ignorance of Latin spelling and grammar. There were probably men in Wales over a thousand years ago who expected a speedy end to the Welsh language.

In dealing with the early literature of Wales it is well to remember that ecclesiastical documents such as the Lives of the Welsh Saints, and more secular documents

such as the *Mabinogion*, should be studied together. The ruling families of the monasteries and the ruling families of the courts were most closely related, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the ecclesiastical literary centres of early times from the secular. In both these types of centres there was an equal pride in the exploits of the ancient families to which the saints and the ruling dynasties belonged, and the perpetuation in song of the exploits of the "Men of the North" and others would be as natural for a monastic as for a courtly bard.

No one who studies early Welsh history and literature can fail to remark the prominence of families and traditions from the North in post-Roman times. It is not improbable that when Cunedda came into Wales from Manaw Gododin, he came by the express invitation of the Brythons, who found themselves in need of experienced military support against the incursions of Irishmen from the West and the recrudescence of activity on the part of the mixed Goidelic and pre-Celtic population. After the withdrawal of the Roman fleets from the British seas, Britain was exposed to inroads of Irish pirates from the West as well as of Teutonic pirates from the East, alike eager for the plunder of one of the finest provinces of the Roman Empire. Except in the North, Britain at the time of the departure of the Romans was, from all indications, in a state of profound peace and quiet civilisation. Hence the Brythons of Wales, in the face of invasion from the West, naturally turned for aid to the experienced military Brythons of the North, and gratefully accepted their continuance at the head of affairs in Wales. Though the Elegy on Cunedda Wledig in the *Book of Taliessin* (poem xlvi) is undoubtedly much later than his time, as is shown, for example, in the rhymes Cunedaf and g6ynaf, yet it may possibly be modelled on some older composition, or may be based on

some annalistic document. In dealing with the early vernacular literature of Wales we have always to bear in mind its aristocratic character, and its relation to the ideas and traditions of the ruling families, who long preserved their interest in the district from which their fathers had come.

Behind the heroic traditions of the Northern families, however, we are driven, by the parallel study of the old poems and the *Mabinogion*, to consider whether some of the traditions of still older families may not have survived, linked it may be with their genealogies. Through inter-marriage with the older strata of the population the men of the North would enter into the inheritance of these legends, which would in course of time be incorporated with theirs, though still regarded as belonging to an older epoch. It is possibly this distinction that is perpetuated in the apparently scrupulous care taken in the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi" and, indeed, throughout the *Mabinogion*, to draw clear lines of demarcation between the various legendary periods, in accordance with a tendency discernible in Nennius and even in Geoffrey, in spite of his anachronisms. It looks as if there were a kind of traditional framework, into which the narrative of early British events was supposed to fit. The literary men of the courts and of the monasteries were doubtless equally assiduous in filling in this framework with all kinds of local stories, now attributed to this hero, now to that, largely derived from the never-failing staple of aetiological myth. Nor must we forget the possibility that even the men of the North may have brought with them some such tales as, for example, stories of Manawyd or Manawyddan, the eponymous hero of Manaw Gododin, or that places in Wales, according to the wont of settlers, may have been re-named after places in the North or after the heroes of

the Northern legends. The difficulty of tracing the topographical relations of these legends is increased when we remember that the geography of legends tends to expand with the expansion of men's ideas and territorial interests, a tendency of which we have a conspicuous example in the Arthurian geography of Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is not improbable that this phenomenon is an important feature even of the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi" as we have them in their present form.

Another point which should always be borne in mind in dealing with Welsh as well as other legends is, that to historical names non-historical stories may become attached, and that the stories so attached may be far more ancient than the names. In dealing with the old stories of Wales, whether in prose or poetry, it would be well to reduce them to their simplest terms, thus bringing to view their typical plots. If this were systematically done with the stories of the other branches of the Celtic family, and, indeed, over a wider area, it would be easy to institute a kind of synoptic comparison of these plots. The writer is well aware how much admirable work has already been done in this direction by distinguished students of Celtic, such as Principal Rhÿs, and other students of folk-lore, but it would nevertheless be a great convenience if the various types of stories could be succinctly tabulated for the purpose of comparison, according to their characteristic plots, expressed in the briefest possible terms. Such a concise treatment would be of great value in comparing the ancient stories of Wales with those, for instance, of Ireland.

If we now turn to the older poetry of Wales, we see that much of it reflects the period of heroic struggle against the English. This is the case in the *Book of Aneirin*, in a few poems of the *Book of Taliessin*, in one or

two poems (notably that in praise of Geraint) in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, and in some of the Llywarch Hen poems of the *Red Book of Hergest*. While the *Book of Aneirin* and the poems of the *Book of Taliessin* mainly commemorate the Northern struggles against the men of Deira and Bernicia, those of the *Red Book of Hergest* and the corresponding portions of the *Black Book of Carmarthen* commemorate the struggle in the Severn Valley and the adjacent districts. Some of the heroes of the conflict in both cases belong to the same cycle, and, whatever may be the age of the actual compositions as we have them, they are probably based on older annals and lists of famous battles, but they are unfortunately much too vague to supply us with definite historical information. It must be remembered, too, that a critical analysis of the "Gododin" shews it not to be one poem, but to be composed of portions of several poems. An analysis of the "Gododin" (which itself contains repetitions) side by side with "Gorchan Maelderw" shews clearly that these two poems consist of more or less identical portions of one and the same series of poems. In the greater part of the "Gododin" and the Gorchanau of the *Book of Aneirin* ("Gorchan Tutvwlch", "Gorchan Adebôn", "Gorchan Cynvelyn" and "Gorchan Maelderw") the copyist changed the orthography of the MS. from which he was copying into that of the early part of the thirteenth century, but, fortunately, he has, here and there, been careless in the performance of this task, and, in a large part of "Gorchan Maelderw" he has left the spelling of the MS. before him practically unaltered, thus revealing a part of the poem in its pre-Norman dress, and even in a form which comes very near to that of the glosses of the eighth and ninth centuries. It is evident, too, that what was here copied was merely a string of fragments, so that the original poems from which they are taken, and

which were the originals also of the larger fragments that are now in the "Gododin", were older still, though how much older it would be difficult to say. It is interesting to note that "Gorchan Maelderw" is attributed in the MS. to Taliessin, whereas the very same portions in the "Gododin" are attributed in the same manuscript to Aneirin. It should also be observed that in "Gorchan Maelderw" and in certain portions of the latter half of the "Gododin", the account of the battle of Catraeth, with which the poem deals, differs somewhat from that of the earlier portion. In "Gorchan Maelderw" and its cognate portions of the "Gododin", all the Britons are represented as being killed, except one, and he appears to be Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin. In the earlier portion of the "Gododin" those who are represented as escaping out of the general slaughter are said to be Cynon, together with "deu gatki aeron" (Kyndilic and Kynan) and Aneirin, into whose mouth the narrative of the battle and the praises of the warriors (living and dead) who fought at the battle, are put. Moreover, Aneirin, where he is represented as escaping, is so represented in two ways: one way is that after being wounded ('om gwaetffreu') he escapes through the power of his song; the other, where he is represented as being freed from an underground dungeon by Ceneu son of Llywarch. It is clear from both the "Gododin" and "Gorchan Maelderw" that the leading theme of these two poems is the praise of Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin, probably a much more important personage in early Welsh history and legend than his present fame might lead us to suspect. Of his early fame it may be noted that there is some reflection in Owain and Luned. Some indication, too, of this earlier prominence is given by the number of Englynion on him in "Englynion y Beddau". We should probably not be far wrong in regarding this group of poems as being one

section of the poetry composed in honour of the Coel family (Coeling) and especially the "Cynverching" (family of Cynvarch) branch of that stock, the branch to which Urien Rheged belonged. It should be borne in mind that it was the duty of a family bard not merely to glorify the living, but also to preserve and to enhance the fame of the dead ancestors of his living patrons, and this he could hardly do better than by amplifying and embellishing in verse the chronicles of the battles in which they showed their prowess. Owing to the close relationship, too, between the families of the Welsh saints and those of the princes, the above-mentioned motive would operate even among the monastic bards. The importance of the Coel family is well illustrated in a statement made in "Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd" (*Hengwrt MS.* 536). "Trychan cledyf kynuerchyn a ttrychan ysgôyt kynno'dyon a ttrychan wayô coeling pa neges bynhac yd elynt iddi yn duun. Nyt amethei (hon) honno."

As the "Gododin" is now given in the *Book of Aneirin*, the verses have, in several cases, been transposed from their original order, so that what we now have are *dissecta membra*; and in some places there appear to be irrelevant interpolations. The earlier part of the "Gododin" appears to have affinities with "Gorchan Tutwlech"; for, in both, Tutwlech and Kyfwlech are jointly commemorated along with Cynon. "Gorchan Cynfelyn", which mentions Eithinyn, a "Gododin" hero, differs from "Gorchan Maelderw" in referring to the escape of three men from Catraeth, one of whom is Cynon, and the other two Cadreith and Catleu o gatnant, together with Aneirin, who, after being wounded, is ransomed, by the sons of Coel (reading meib), for pure gold, steel, and silver. The Cynfelyn here commemorated is probably Cynfelyn Drwsgl, the brother of Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin. Possibly the chief centres

from which these poems emanated were Dyganhwy, Bangor Seiriol (in Anglesey, the land of Caw's descendants), Bangor Deiniol, Bangor Beuno (not far from which was a Cefn Clutno), and Llanbadarn. The latter centre is here mentioned because one of the "Englynion y Beddau" represents Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin as having been buried there. Cor Seiriol in Penmon and Cor Beuno in Clynnog both appear to have acquired a high reputation for their learning. Elaeth Frenin ab Meyrig (the supposed author of "Kygogion Elaeth" in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*) was a monk at Bangor Seiriol, and Nidan ab Gwrfyw ab Pasgen ab Urien Rheged is said to have been some time an abbot there. It may well be that it is to the old monastic schools, even more than to the courts of the princes, that we are to look in the early period for the development of Welsh literature, and it is not impossible, were more known of these schools, that they were the direct successors of still earlier teachers. In dealing with the earlier poetry it should not be forgotten that even the "Gododin" contains numerous religious allusions.

The poem of the *Book of Aneirin* called "Gorchan Maelderw" is of great interest, because, in one of the portions of it written in an archaic orthography, the name of Arthur unmistakably occurs in the words "bei ef Arthur" (even if he were Arthur). These words suggest that even then, within the cycle of the Catraeth poems, Arthur's praise and fame were great. Indeed, from every point of view the indications (as in the *Black Book* poems) point to the conclusion that, within the circle of traditions connected with the struggle against the English, Arthur, though rarely mentioned, was throughout a commanding figure.

Let us now turn for a moment to poems of another series. The early poetry of Powys, which is attributed to

Llywarch Hen, bases its chief claim to antiquity on the undoubted fact that several of the poems are similar in form to some "englynion" of the ninth century, which are found in the *Juvenius Codex* of the Cambridge University Library. Some of these poems, such as those in praise of Geraint ab Erbin, are also found in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. Hence, it may be concluded that the nucleus of this poetry formed part of that heroic tradition which commemorated the leaders of the struggle against the English in parts of the Severn Valley, being, in fact, the East Wales analogue of the tradition of the struggle in the North found in the "Gododin" and kindred poems. It is of interest to observe that in the poems of both series Arthur appears as a prominent figure. The poems of the Powys and Severn struggles appear to have as their prose counterpart a chronicle such as that which Professor Zimmer in his *Nennius Vindicatus* has shewn to underlie the Builth recension of Nennius, while the poems of the "Gododin" series appear to have closer affinities with the chronicles which underlie the Venedotian recension. From one courtly or monastic literary centre to another the story of Arthur and his associated companions, such as Cai, Bedwyr, Owain ab Urien, Caradog Vreichvras, Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin, seems to have spread through the Wye and Severn Valleys, and notably the Usk Valley (until Caerleon on Usk became a great Arthurian locality) and even much further afield. Nennius already speaks of Arthur, at Carn Cabal near Builth, hunting the "Porcus Troyt", and of the grave of Arthur's son in Erging. We know, too, from Giraldus Cambrensis, that the highest point of the Breconshire Beacons was known in his time as Kadeir Arthur, the throne of Arthur.

The bulk of the Llywarch Hen poetry, as we have it in the *Red Book of Hergest*, is marked by a meditative pathos,

and it is to this pathos that it owes much of its charm. These poems appear to have been written by someone acquainted with the traditional story of Llywarch Hen and with the narrative of the struggle of the Welsh against the English around Pengwern. The poet's favourite vein of reflection is over the departure of the brilliance and joy of the past. In this vein he represents Llywarch Hen as mourning over the loss of youth with its joy and vigour, over the death of his children, over the loss of his former lords, Urien and Cynddylan, and also over the former glories of the ancient palaces of Pengwern and the neighbourhood. As compared with the spirit of the "Gododin" and kindred poetry, it may be said that the Llywarch Hen compositions appeal to the sense of pathos and of contrast in a broader and more catholic way. In both types there is a strong appeal to the sense of contrast, but in the "Gododin" the contrast depicted is between the confident gaiety and exuberant hilarity which preceded the battle of Catraeth, and the disastrous event of the contest, between the host that went to battle and the fragment of it that returned. In the Llywarch Hen poetry the contrast is between the glory of the past and the ruin of the present. Neither group of poems is the bare unreflecting primitive poetry of narrative: it is a poetry which seeks to appeal to minds thoroughly alive to the pathos and tragedy of life as exemplified in the events and the results of the great struggle of the Britons.¹ It is the "lacrimae rerum" in this body of poetry that give it an abiding interest. What influence (if any) the study of Vergil, the universal

¹ The verses called "Englynion y Beddau", which have affinities with the traditions and legends of several districts, also belong to the poetry of reflective meditation over the past. They are probably a development from a smaller nucleus. In the topographical elucidation of the old legends they are of real service.

school book of the Roman Empire and of the Middle Ages, may have had in giving this direction of pathos to Welsh poetry it is now impossible to say.

The poetry with which we have hitherto dealt, though not without religious allusions, is in the main of a humanistic character, but in addition to these poems the body of poetry now under consideration comprises a number of poems that are primarily religious, and others which contain a strong tincture of mediæval theology combined with other elements. The most curious poetry of the latter type is that mainly, though not exclusively, found in the *Book of Taliessin*, where theology, mediæval natural history, and various legends are presented together through a medium which reveals a very curious conception of the poetic art. In this body of poetry, some of which contains materials derived from the Northern traditional stock, the poet is depicted not as mourning over the disastrous battles of the past or lamenting the departed greatness of his race, so much as rising supernaturally above human limitations of time and place, and reviewing the famous events of the heroic and legendary past, in which he himself is represented as having been present. This idea is partly the result of the thought that the materials of the body had been in existence from time immemorial, partly a development from the favourite mediæval idea of metamorphosis, the latter idea being part and parcel of the universal magical conceptions of the time. The composer of the poems, in recounting his supposed past experiences, seems to have quarried in some ancient chronicles containing lists of the battles of Urien Rheged and others, and of the localities in which they were fought. Nor is it unlikely that some older lines were bodily adopted and incorporated from ancient heroic poems and elegies. These old traditions appear to have had a special charm for some of

the poets of the *Book of Taliessin*, and they would seem to have been particularly fond of traditions and legends which flourished in Anglesey and Carnarvonshire. The references to Geirionydd and Nant Ffrancon appear to indicate the neighbourhood of the Conwy valley and Dyganhwy as one of the poets' gathering-ground of legend. To this district we may perhaps link the Hiraethog district and the valley of the Dyfrdwy beyond. From the Carnarvonshire side the poet probably obtained a stock of Don and Beli legends, from Dyganhwy and the neighbourhood the local legends of Taliessin, while from the Hiraethog and the Dee district came the legends of Bran and Branwen, with the topographical associations of which I have dealt in my articles on the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi" in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*. The Branwen legend was also associated with Merionethshire and Anglesey, and the legend of Pryderi with Merionethshire. In the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi" it may be noted that the topographical associations of the Don family are mainly with the West side of Carnarvonshire. The district of the Conwy valley and the nearest parts of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire probably felt a certain local interest in Seithennin, the father of St. Tudno, in Urien Rheged (the ancestor of Grwst of Llanrwst and of Nidan, at one time head of the monastery of Penmon), in Lleenawg, from whose name Castell Lleiniog on the Anglesey side of the Menai Straits seems to be called, in Dona of Llanddona, a descendant of Brochwel Ysgythrog, in Maelgwn Gwynedd, whose court was at Dyganhwy and possibly in Arthur, if the name Bwrdd Arthur is ancient. The composer of many of these Taliessin poems is not content, however, to build merely on a basis of traditional and local legend, but interweaves his fantastic imaginings into a tissue of mediæval natural philosophy, largely derived from the stock manuals of the

dark ages, the works of Isidore of Seville and Bede, who were the chief successors of the encyclopædists Martianus Capella and Cassiodorus. The poet expresses his respect for Bede in the line

Nyt 6y dy6eit geu llyfreu beda.

I.e., The books of Bede do not speak falsehood.

The conception of a poet revealed in many of these poems seems very strange to us at the present day, but it bears a very strong resemblance to the mediæval conception of Vergil (known in mediæval Welsh as 'Fferyll', and mentioned under that name in one of the Taliessin poems). The magical connotation of the name 'Fferyll' may be seen from the fact that it is the origin of the Welsh 'fferyllydd', chemist. According to the mediæval conception of Vergil, as we see from Professor Comparetti's account of Vergil in the Middle Ages, he was not only a man of supreme learning, but was also endowed with super-human powers. Fortunately, owing to the general atmosphere of these poems, the bent of the composers towards natural history has preserved for us some interesting old Welsh terms, such as 'adfant', the upper world; 'difant' (whence 'difancoll'), the lower world; 'elfydd', the earth; 'annwfn', the under world, 'anghar', 'affwys' and 'affan', apparently of the same meaning. The latter may, however, be borrowed through Latin from Greek ἀφάνης. From Latin are certainly derived the terms 'aches', the flood tide; and 'reges', the ebb tide, from 'accessus' and 'recessus' respectively. How greatly interested the Britons were in the tides we see from several passages in the *Book of Taliessin* and the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, from the *De Mirabilibus Britannia*, and from a treatise *De Mirabilibus*, formerly attributed to St. Augustine, and now believed to be the work of a Briton. The term

'llafanad', formed by means of a Welsh ending -ad from 'llafan', (a parallel form of 'llafn', like mediæval 'gauar' and 'gafyr'), which comes from Latin 'lamina', may be roughly translated 'element', but it probably reflected originally a conception of existence, whereby its various substances tended to form 'laminations' or layers. It may be noted, too, that the familiar terms 'Macrocosm' and 'Microcosm' appear in these poems as 'Y Byt Mawr' and 'Y Byt Bychan'. The use of these and other terms suggests affinities between the medium of ideas through which the traditions and legends are presented, and an obscure type of philosophical doctrine which lived on as a kind of undergrowth in the Roman Empire and the Dark Ages, a body of doctrine believed by some to have had a share in the formation of the Jewish Kabbala. One of its best known representatives is the Poemander of Hermes Trismegistus.

It should be noted that in an interesting dialogue between the soul and the body found in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, the Taliessin doctrine of "Y saith llafanad" is put into the mouth of the body. In this account the body is formed by the meeting together of the seven 'laminations', of which fire, earth, wind, mist, flowers, are named, but the other two, water and air (*see the Book of Taliessin*, poem lv) are omitted, around the pure substance ('pur').

This super-human conception of the poet shows itself, as we have seen in his attitude towards the past, but it is no less visible in his attitude towards the future. The prophetic powers of the poet come here especially into view. Here again we have an interesting point of contact with the mediæval conception of Vergil as a prophet. In Wales, the role of the prophetic bard is that of prophesying to

the remnants of the Britons ultimate victory over their enemies, under the leadership of some of the leaders of the past, notably, Cynan and Cadwaladr. These vaticinations were put sometimes into the mouth of Taliessin, sometimes into the mouth of Myrddin Wyllt. The earliest "Myrddin" prophecy is that put into the mouth of Merlinus Ambrosius in Nennius, in a narrative which has evident affinities with that of "Lludd and Llevelys". This prophecy was afterwards developed by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and became extremely popular. In 1180 a commentary was written upon it by Alanus de Insulis, and in 1208 a translation of the prophecies was made into Icelandic. A version appeared also in French and became very popular. In 1379 an Italian translation was made which also attained popularity. In 1478 a German version was published, and in 1498 a version appeared in Spanish. It should be noted that the favourite Myrddin of Welsh poetry is Myrddin Wyllt, who is not associated with the *Nennius* story at all, but with Rhydderch Hael and Gwenddoleu, as we see in the "Hoianau" and "Afallenau". We find some reflections of current vaticinations in the "Gogynfeirdd" poems, for example, in Gwalchmai ab Meilir—

Hyd pan del Cynan cain adfwyndawd
A Chadwaladr mawr, mur pob ciwdawd.

It should be noted, too, that in the allusions to some of the poets of these prophecies the men who utter them are called "Derwyton" ('Derwyddon'); for example, Prydydd y Moch says:—

Kynan darogan derwyton dyda6
Ef dy diw o vrython (leg. dediw=has come);

and further, in "Y Canu Bychan":—

Darogan mertin dyuod breyenhin
 O gymry werin o gamhwri.
 Dywawd derwyton dadeni haelon
 O hil eryron o Eryri,
 O wyron Ywein ar wyneb prydein
 Vn vrtyein llundein o lan deithi,
 Yn lew Loegyr gymyn yn Yorwerth y hyn
 Yn lary Lywelyn o lin Rodri
 Nys kelaf honnaf, hon (leg. h6n) yw Beli hir,
 Ny chelir nae wir nae wrhydri.

As already stated, the framework of the Welsh Myrddin poems is the story of Myrddin Wyllt, as may be seen in the twelfth century poems of the "Afallenau" and "Hoianau" of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. In his madness after the Battle of Arderydd, Myrddin utters his prognostications as to the future of the Welsh people. His companion in his wanderings is a little pig, and we catch sight also of a lady who appears to stand in much the same relation to Myrddin as the Sibyl to Virgil in the legend of the Middle Ages. Her name is Chwimleian or Chwipleia, and she appears to be the same as Viviane of the Breton stories. In the *Book of Taliessin*, poem vi, called "Arymes Prydein", is a Myrddin vaticination, as well as poem xlvii, which begins with the line—

Dygogan awen dygobryssyn,

and poems i and liii. In the *Red Book of Hergest* (as given in Skene) the type in question is represented by poems xviii, xix, xx, xxi, as well as poems i and ii, "Kyvoessi Myrdin a Gwendyd" and "Gwasgargert Myrtin" respectively. Poems of a prophetic type long continued popular in England and in Wales. When we turn to distinctively religious poems and hymns there are many points of contact, as might have been expected, with the general trend of mediæval thought, as seen, for example, in a collection like Mone's Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages. In the

Black Book of Carmarthen we have in the first place a "Dialogue between the Soul and the Body" (Skene, vol. ii, poems v, vi, and vii). This poem ends with a description of the Day of Judgment on Mount Olivet, a favourite subject of mediæval hymnology. Poem ix of the same manuscript is meant to be a warning to the wicked of his fate. In poems x, xi and xii, there are reflections of mediæval theology. In poem xi, it is interesting to note the Divine names Eloy and Adonay, probably taken from a list given by Isidore of Seville. In this poem, too, we have the names "Paul ac Anhun" (Antony), which suggest the monastic atmosphere of the writer. Poem xiii gives some interesting non-scriptural stories about Job, Eve, and the infant Christ. In poems xx and xxi we have compositions attributed to "Elaeth" or "Elaeth Frenin", who is said to have become a monk. Poem xxv is of similar type, while in xxvii there are references to Sanffreid (St. Bridget), Gwosprid (St. Osbert), and St. Peter. The whole of this poem is a curious combination, in the style of the Llywarch Hen poetry, of a hymn with an account of the preparations for a journey. In poem xxix we have one of those Welsh mediæval poems where religious emotion is blended with an enquiring interest in natural phenomena.

The *Book of Taliessin* also affords several specimens of religious poems of the above type, side by side with others which have a curious admixture of legend, natural history or magical imagination. In poem i (as printed in the *Book of Taliessin*) from l. 21 to the end there are clear indications of the religious milieu in which this type of poetry arose. Poem ii (162 lines) is called "Marwnat Y Vil Veib", and reflects in its heavenly and earthly hierarchy the Pseudo-Dionysian theology which dominated the church of that time. The poem contains some curious

scraps of Latin and of geography. Poem v (173 lines) is a description of the Day of Judgment and of the punishment of Christ's crucifiers. In poem xxii we have a meditation on the "Plagues of Egypt" (*Plaeu yr Eifft*), while poem xxiv is an account of Moses' Rod (*Llath Moesen*). There is another poem (No. li) of the same cycle on the twelve tribes of Israel (*Deudec tref yr Israel*). Poem xxvi is a short poem on the Trinity, and xxix is of interest not only on account of its scriptural allusions, but also on account of its reference to Alexander the Great, a feature which indicates its affinity with poems xxvi and xxviii, and with the mediæval Alexander literature generally. This literature was especially popular in France and Ireland. Poem xli appears to refer to the cruelty of Erof (for Erodd=Herod); while poems lv and lvi, to which reference has already been made, are called "Kanu y Byt Mawr" (the Macrocosm) and "Kanu y Byt Bychan" (the Microcosm. These two latter poems are clearly based on the writings of Isidore of Seville, Bede, and similar authors. Further researches into the books read in the monasteries in the early Middle Ages, such as may be seen for example in the Catalogues of the Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, will undoubtedly throw much light on the religious and other poems of the *Four Ancient Books*. Before these poems can be safely used for the purpose of comparative mythology it is necessary to elucidate the mediæval medium through which they are presented, just as in the study of the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi", and other old stories, it is important to bear in mind the re-casting which they have undergone to suit mediæval ideas. In the mediæval matrix of many of these poems, however, there are embedded many highly interesting portions of early legend, whose topographical affinities have now been ascertained with some measure of

success. An important problem which remains is that of classifying these legends according to their various inter-relations and affinities. In this work some help may be given by "Englynion y Beddau" and other poems.

In dealing with the old poetry of Wales and its kindred literature it is well to keep apart the framework of persons, incidents, and localities in which the stories are placed, and the essential features of the stories themselves. Stories far older than the framework may here as elsewhere have become attached in course of time to the historical names of Northern or Welsh native families. Even in dealing with the topographical connections of the legends we have to proceed with great caution, inasmuch as certain places may have been called after characters in the stories. Families, too, in their emigrations, in accordance with the methods of emigrants everywhere, may have re-named certain places after places in their old homes, and legends themselves with their associated names often travel far afield.

The existence of the poems with which we are now dealing in their present form shows that they have a literary history behind them: they have recognised metres, a recognised poetic vocabulary, and a sense of taste and style, and the more they are understood the more vividly do they reflect the ideals and interests which guided the minds of the Welsh people when Europe was emerging from the night of barbarism.

**Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod
(Rhyl, 1904).**

THE IDEAL OF A WELSH NATIONAL LIBRARY.¹

I.

BY SIR JOHN WILLIAMS, BART.

AT a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the Eisteddfod, held last year at Llanelly, it was stated that the National Library and National Museum were one, that they had been married in the far distant past, and evidence for this statement was given. On the other side it was asserted, and the assertion was supported by evidence, that no such marriage had taken place. The meeting ended by passing a resolution referring the question to the Members of Parliament for Wales and the representatives of the Welsh County Councils. The result is, either that the alleged marriage has been declared null, or that the National Library has obtained a decree *nisi*; for the Welsh Members of Parliament and County Council representatives have appeared before the Lord President and Chancellor of the Exchequer to appeal for separate maintenance for the National Library and for the Museum—a certain annuity for the one and another annuity for the other. I imagine that the decree has been made absolute; for the subject upon which your Secretary

¹ Read at the Inaugural Meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, held at Rhyl, 5th September 1904. Chairman: Mr. J. Herbert Lewis, M.P.

(Mr. Vincent Evans) has asked me to open a discussion this evening is "The Ideal of a Welsh National Library". There was a distinguished man who had the misfortune to be appointed to the Chair of Geology in one of the Universities of America, from which he was to deliver thirty lectures, who said, "I can say all I know of Geology in twenty minutes." I feel myself to-night in much the same predicament, for I can put all I can say of the "Ideal National Welsh Library" in one sentence; and that is—it is a collection of all the literature of all civilised countries.

Like all ideals, however, the ideal of a National Library is not attainable, and I do not suppose that your Secretary desires me to open a discussion on the impossible. Therefore, having stated all I have to say about the ideal institution, I will, with your permission, leave the ideal and make some observations on the practical—that is, upon the Welsh National Library as it can, and as it will, be established in the Principality. My remarks are intended to elicit discussion rather than to be a lecture. Therefore they will be brief and definite.

The first question I should wish to have discussed is one upon which, in so far as I can learn, there is some, or perhaps even considerable, difference of opinion. This I gather from hints rather than from positive statements. What is the object of founding a Welsh National Library? It has one object in which, I feel sure, that we are all agreed, and that is the collection and preservation of our National Literature, both ancient and modern. And why should this be done, why is this a worthy object? Is it for glory? No, I think not. We have achieved so much of that in the past, we have heard so much of it from the platform, we have read so much about it in the newspapers, that we are almost satiated with its abundance. Then

why should it be done? Is it in order to attract sightseers from every part of the civilized world, to be marched through the Library Halls, to gaze with wonder at the gorgeous and begilt covers of countless volumes, regardless of their contents, whether they be dummies or priceless treasures of knowledge? I answer No; the National Library is not intended for the amusement of those who compass sea and land, who hurry from the Gulf of Mexico to the White Sea, and, were it possible, would do the journey with the speed of the telegraph, to enter in their note-book: "5th September 1904. Saw the Welsh National Library". It is not designed for such. Nor is it for that subject of not infrequent and bitter complaints by students at the British Museum—the novel reader, who would frequent it to skim the last "shilling shocker". Nor is it for the gratification of those who would read the morning papers on their way to their offices or places of business, and on their return homeward learn the latest quotations on the Stock Exchange, Wall Street, and Continental Bourses. Nor is it designed for the loafer, who would turn in of an afternoon and demand a volume as a soporific to ensure and hasten his siesta. Desirable as all these objects may be, and many as are they that seek them, the National Library is not designed to serve them.

There is another large contingent of the population to whom the National Library will not, to my deep regret, be of much service: that portion of our fellows who, by reason of want of time, or deficient education and training, cannot, or do not care, to make use of the resources of such an institution. These form a large part of our, as of every other, population, from which I hope to see arise, in time to come, many who will make good and productive use of the National Institution. Parting from these with

sympathy and regret, we turn to those who devote time and labour to the study of some special subject or subjects. The time employed in such study may be the whole of their time, or their "spare hours" only. These may be called the student class in the widest sense of the term, although they come, especially in Wales, from the various classes of the community, the educated and the uneducated or self-educated, the rich, the poor, the farming, commercial, artisan, and labouring. It is for the use of these—those who devote a certain portion of their time to the serious study of some (whatever) subject that the National Library is intended, as well as for all students of our country, people, history, language, manners, etc., whence-soever they come. To these the doors of the Library should be freely opened and its treasures revealed.

From what I have said, another question naturally arises: Where should the Library be placed? This is a delicate, a sensitive, indeed, it may be called a "ticklish" subject. I have, however, endeavoured, and trust that I have succeeded in depriving it of this character.

Now if you agree with me in what I have said with reference to the object of establishing a National Library, you will probably agree with me also in my answer to this—the second question. On the other hand, should there be any here who disagree with what I have said, and who hold that the object, or even a part of the object, of the National Library should be the diversion of the "globe trotting" community, they will not agree with me in what I am about to say, and our opinions will diverge more and more as we proceed. Where, then, should the Welsh National Library be located? or, rather, in what sort of place should it find a home? Should its home be in the centre of a large town, on the track of that special product of modern civilization to whom I have referred; in the

midst of the noise and turmoil of the crowd, of the hurry and excitement of commerce and the Exchange? Or should it be in some retired spot far from such disturbing elements, where peace and quiet dwell? To my mind, the better place is one where the student may pursue his researches undisturbed and undistracted, and not in the large and noisy city.

In considering this part of our subject there is another point of apparent importance, which should have its full weight in forming a final conclusion as to the home of the Library—that is, the accessibility of the place. It is a point of apparent importance, but undue stress may be laid upon it from attaching too much value to some, and overlooking other, considerations. If you agree with me that the Library is an institution to be used by the student (as I have broadly defined him), you will agree with me in this also, that the work to be done by the student in the Library will require close attention for days, weeks, or may be months. The student who proposes to use the Library to pursue the study of any special subject, to consult the authorities upon it, and to get up its literature, must reside in the neighbourhood of the Library for days, or weeks, or longer. This reveals “accessibility” in its true magnitude, which is comparatively insignificant; for if the student must reside near the Library for some time, it matters little whether he travels thereto at the rate of ten miles an hour or at the rate of forty, or whether the place can be reached by one train a day or by a dozen. On the other hand, were the Library primarily, or indeed at all, intended to attract the sightseer, “accessibility” would assume far greater proportions. The great desideratum in respect to the seat of the Library is not accessibility in the sense of rapid transit thereto and therefrom, but comfortable rooms and cheap living thereat. I con-

sider, therefore, that a small town with its quietude and cheap living, as a place in which to find a home for the Library, is preferable to a large commercial town with its noise and hurry, high rents and expensive living.

I come now to the last part of the subject, upon which I invite discussion, and that is the contents of the Library. What should the National Library contain? I feel sure that we are all agreed that its contents should be books, including under the term everything from the broadside or ballad to the ponderous volume, together with manuscripts of all sorts.

But what books? What literature? I might classify the contents from below upwards, or from above downwards. On this occasion I will classify them from above downwards, and while I do so I must ask you to bear in mind that I am referring to the contents of the Welsh National Library, and to no other. But I would, in the first place, point out that the term "National" in this connection has a double meaning. It may mean a Library which is the property of the nation, or it may mean a Library representative of Welsh literature. Whatever meaning we attach to the word, it must at least include the latter.

Beginning then at the top, the Library should contain, as far as possible, the literature of every civilized country, and being the Library of a country like Wales, which is a part of the British Empire, a prominent place should be given to the literature of England. The size of this part of the collection, the number of volumes in it, must depend upon the procurability of the literature and the depth of the Treasury's purse. But, important as is such a collection of English literature as a part of the contents of the Library, it alone, whatever its magnitude, would not constitute the institution a Welsh National Library.

Something more is required to give it that character. Proceeding downwards I come upon a collection of books written by Welshmen, upon any subject and in any language. Lower still, I discern a multitude of books in the allied languages, Irish, Gaelic, Manx, Cornish, and Breton; books on the allied races—the several branches of the Celtic race—in whatever language. Lower still, I discover a number of volumes treating of Wales, the Welsh people, and the Welsh language, in whatsoever language and by whomsoever written. Lastly, I expose the foundation—books and manuscripts in the Welsh language. Upon this the whole superstructure is built. Without it there can be no Welsh National Library. A Library of English literature in Calcutta, however large, with a smattering only of Indian literature, could not be called the National Library of India, a land—like Wales—of literature. The larger and broader this foundation the more distinctly national the character of the Library. Here should be found all—but as that is not possible—should be found the largest, the best and most representative collection of Welsh literature, both printed and in manuscript. You would not go to the National Library of France for German literature, or to Germany for French literature. You would go to the National Library of each country for its own national literature. If you went to the National Library of France in Paris and found there but German literature with a smattering of French, what would you say? Would you not say: “I came to the National Library of France to study French literature and I find nothing here but German, with a sprinkling of French. I am deceived. Your name is a sham?” I should go to the Welsh National Library expecting to find there, not the best collection of English or of some foreign literature, but the best and largest

collection of Welsh literature. The Library should contain all the Welsh literature which has escaped the ravages of the last three and-a-half centuries obtainable. This is the chief and most important of its contents—the one which gives it its distinctive character and alone justifies its title of “The Welsh National Library”. Then follow, in order of importance, the classes of literature which I have named, books treating of Wales, its people, its language, in whatever language written; the literature of the allied races, or literature treating of those races. After these come books written by Welshmen on any subject and in any language, and, finally, English and foreign literature. Great as the value of English literature is, especially to the Welshman, it may surely be asserted that however large the collection of English literature in the Library may be, it will not add to its national character any more than it would to the national character of the Library of France or of Germany. No Library, whatever it may contain, can be truly called the Welsh National Library unless it contains the best and most complete collection of Welsh literature.

II.

BY SIR ISAMBARD OWEN, M.A.¹

THE last twelve months has brought appreciably nearer the consummation of the long-felt desire of the people of Wales to possess a National Museum and Library.

Before the close of the Session of 1903, a representative conference, to which were summoned the entire parliamentary representation of the Principality, the Mayors of all County Boroughs and the Chairmen of all County Councils, together with the chief officers of the University of Wales, met at Westminster, laid down certain general propositions, and appointed a drafting committee to prepare a detailed scheme.

The drafting committee, it may be admitted, did not entirely escape the charge of undue deliberation; but haste is not always the best avenue to the permanent settlement of a question; and the caution with which the committee had proceeded was amply justified when the conference met again in May of the present year and found themselves able unanimously to adopt the scheme prepared by the committee.

The unanimity of the conference was doubtless due in some degree to the sense in which the committee had interpreted the term "National" in connection with the proposed Museum and Library; a sense which renders the intending institutions a genuine possession of the entire

¹ Read at the Meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, held at Rhyl, 5th September 1904.

people, and not merely that of the particular locality or localities in which they may be placed.

The committee met the difficulties of its task by interpreting the term "National" in a generous and unselfish sense. Their aim was not to provide a place merely for the delectation, or even the instruction, of a particular town or district; but to secure within the bounds of the Principality a complete and thoroughly scientific illustration of the geology, zoology, botany, mineralogy, industrial condition, history, antiquities and literature of the country and people.

For such a collection, in its scientific aspects, the delimitation of Wales as a separate entity is both natural and desirable; for, including in the term "Wales" certain strips of English land between Offa's Dyke and the Severn, Wales presents a fairly definite geological division of Great Britain, differing very markedly in many of its aspects and characteristics from the territory east of the great river.

The benefits of such an institution will be reaped, not only by ourselves, but by the scientific and literary world in general; the legitimate pride of its possession will be all our own.

We have not, it is true, reached the final stage of a definite promise from the Treasury; but when the stern guardian of the nation's purse goes so far as to say that a given demand made upon the Exchequer is a proper and justifiable one, and that the estimate presented to him for the purpose is a moderate one, we need not be unduly despondent as to the ultimate result.

It is not, however, of the proposed Museum, but of the contemplated National Library that I am invited to say a few words to-day.

I am invited to lay before this meeting the conception

of a National Library which was present in the minds of the drafting committee and of the conference. The committee's aim was not to serve a temporary, but a permanent purpose; to establish for all time, and for the benefit of future as well as present students, as complete a representation as possible of the literary activities of the Principality from the earliest times.

It is contemplated, in the first place, that the Library should, as far as possible, be the permanent and secure resting-place for all such existing ancient manuscripts as are not already included in other public collections. It is contemplated, further, that it should contain as complete a collection as can possibly be got together of ancient Welsh printed works; and also of all books, pamphlets, papers, journals, and other publications issued in the Principality up to the present day. But the committee had its eye no less on the present and the future than on the past. The National Library, as they conceived it, will be a perpetually-growing collection. One of its main duties, as contemplated by the committee, from the day of its establishment, will be to gather together every piece of printed matter, whether book, magazine, newspaper, report or what-not, published outside, but bearing upon specially Welsh matters, as the resources at its disposal will enable it to possess itself of. Such a collection as is contemplated will subsist for all time as a gigantic storehouse of information on the future history and conditions of our country, for the use of such students as desire to consult it.

The project is an ambitious one, and to carry it out efficiently will need not merely a Government grant, but a certain amount of voluntary or organised co-operation on the part of Welshmen. As regards present and future literature, it is not, perhaps, too much to hope that Welsh

publishers and newspaper proprietors will be willing, of their own accord, to deposit copies of their issues in the Welsh National Library, even though we have at present no Copyright Act to compel them to do so. But as regards the past literature of the Principality there is also much to be hoped from voluntary co-operation. Let us take the case of manuscripts alone. In how many of the country houses of Wales are there not stores of ancient manuscripts, all of them possessing at least some interest, which are exposed every year to risk of destruction by fire, and which are, as a whole, practically inaccessible to students. May we not hope that the representatives of the old houses of Wales will take a patriotic pride in placing these possessions of their families under circumstances which will secure their transmission to remote posterity, and which will render them serviceable as future material for history.

May we not hope also that many of the possessors of fragmentary collections of rare ancient books will prefer rather to see them forming part of a great and complete National Library than lying as scattered items upon their own shelves.

Let all honour be rendered to one Welshman at least, who has for many years past expended money, time, and knowledge in forming a magnificent collection of old Welsh books, not for the gratification of his personal pride as a collector, but with the object of making it a permanent possession of the people of Wales. Sir John Williams has done a work which should keep his name in honour among Welshmen for many centuries to come. May we hope that his patriotic initiative will not for ever lack the practical compliment of imitation?

One noble collection of ancient Welsh books has unhappily left our shores for good. It is little to the credit

of the United Kingdom that amongst all its accumulated wealth there could not be found the few thousands necessary to retain in Great Britain the priceless philological library accumulated by the late Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte. Amongst the Welsh books contained in it, which have at last found a home in the United States, is unhappily one little sixteenth century work of both historic and philological interest, of which no other copy is known to exist. Fortunately the Prince, before his death, allowed it to be reproduced in facsimile by the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

It must of course be a necessary condition of such a National Library as is contemplated that no book or manuscript once acquired by it shall ever be allowed to leave the security of its walls. The absolute safety of the treasures committed to its charge must be its primary object. If the Library cannot therefore be brought to the students, the students will have to come to the Library. And this necessity suggests another consideration. Historical and literary students are not often endowed with worldly goods. They are, if I may digress for a few moments into a professional vein, a class of men very apt to neglect their health when the interests of literary research stand in the way of consulting it: to lodge in unhealthy surroundings if only it will bring them nearer to the scene of their work; and to content themselves with hasty, ill-prepared, and indigestible meals if they can avoid being snatched away for what they deem an undue length of time from their engrossing labours. Is it utopian to anticipate that some future benefactor will one day establish in the vicinity of our National Library a much needed Hall or Hostel for the accommodation of students frequenting it; a place where students may abide during the period of their researches in cleanliness and

comfort if not in luxury; and where they may obtain, without too great a sacrifice of time, wholesome and palatable meals at a price within the reach of a scholar's slender purse? I feel sure that every member of my profession who has had the honour of numbering scholars among his patients will sympathise with me in expressing this aspiration.

III.

By SIR MARCHANT WILLIAMS.¹

ANY attempt on my part to determine the relative claims of this or that place to the Welsh National Library would be wholly irregular, seeing that the determination of so important a matter will eventually lie with the Privy Council: but I am at liberty to discuss fully, freely, and openly any considerations that, in my opinion, have a direct bearing upon the matter. I may mention in particular two such considerations, namely (1), Accessibility. The more accessible any particular town is to the largest number of the residents of Wales, the greater and stronger will of necessity be the claim of that town to be the home of the National Library of Wales. And (2), The nature and character of the books that any particular town can command, to be the foundation and the distinguishing feature of the library. No collection of Welsh books, for example, will be entitled to the name "National", if it does not contain the Hengwrt and Peniarth collections of books and manuscripts; and if, therefore, any particular town can secure these collections for its library, the claims of that library to the distinction of being the national institution will be, if not absolutely decisive, exceptionally strong.

The metropolitan aspect of the question does not appeal to me. I am quite prepared to concede the claims of

¹ Read at the Meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, held at Rhyl 7th September 1904. Chairman, Mr. L. J. Roberts, H.M.I.S.

Cardiff to be recognised as the metropolis of Wales, on the grounds of its population, and its great and growing importance as a commercial town ; still, it does not appear to me that Cardiff is entitled, on that account and that only, to be the home of the National Library of the Principality. Such an institution will be used, more particularly, by students, who will find the peace and quiet and the healthy surroundings of a country town more conducive to their purposes than the bustle and noise and the other distractions of a busy and populous "metropolis".

While I agree in the main with what has been said by Sir John Williams and others as to what the general contents of a Welsh National Library should be, I am not at all sure that its shelves should be cumbered with everything that has been published in Welsh in the past or may be published in Welsh in the future. By all means let us aim at getting into our Library the most complete collection of the best Welsh books ; but some means must be adopted to separate the wheat from the chaff.

Finally, I would mention the importance of securing a properly trained librarian for the national collection, and express the hope that fitness for the post shall be the determining factor in the selection of a librarian, and that no sectarian, political, or personal considerations shall have the slightest weight in a matter of such great importance.











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